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Tourism of a different kind in "God's own country" : a critical hermeneutic exploration of socioeconomic development in Kerala, India

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TOURISM OF A DIFFERENT KIND IN "GOD'S OWN COUNTRY": A CRITICAL HERMENEUTIC EXPLORATION OF SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN KERALA, INDIA

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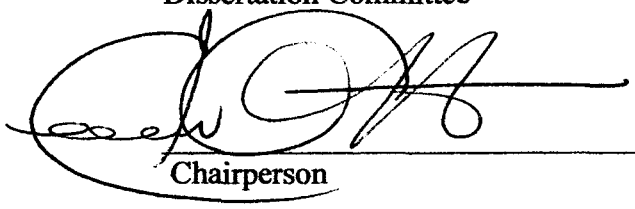
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CHAPTER ONE: DISSERTATION INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Tourism is touted as an industry that affords opportunity to less developed parts of the world to participate in the global economy. With the advent of tourism, however, great changes occur in these communities, including the imposition of modern practices which upset everyday interactions and may change them forever. A good example of tourism's effect on one community is shown in the documentary film, "The Sherpa" (Godfry 1983), in its profile of one person, Nema Tenzi, a Sherpa, living in Nepal.

Nema is shown refiguring his way of life while holding onto the traditions, people and faith that sustain him. Tibet, home of his ancestors, no longer accessible for trade, is replaced by Western trekkers who bring their money, Levi jackets and Rolex watches. The weekly market, once based in barter, requires the Westerners' cash for transactions. The social structure is turned upside down as the elders' wisdom is replaced by the ambitions of young Sherpa who, instead of walking to Tibet to transact trade for their livelihoods, take Westerners on "the walk of a lifetime." In the midst of a disappearing reality is Nema and his wife Chunji, who support each other in their tasks while finding time for prayers to Buddha and the lesser Sherpa gods. Living between East and West, Nema has found peace in his life by recognizing that change is eternal and that his real existence is on the spiritual plane. In God (or Buddha), all things are possible.

If Nema's life has universal meaning beyond being a profile of tourism's effect on one man and a community, what have I learned? Perhaps that refiguring life, that our development, is based on claiming identity: living into that which keeps us connected to our foundation while bowing to the ever present winds of change that are part of life.

Statement of Research Topic

This research addresses the question, what is the relationship between identity and tourism as one medium for socioeconomic development in India. I investigate this question in reference to Kerala, a southern state in India where "a human development puzzle" (Lieten 2002: 47) exists: Kerala has India's highest literacy rates for men and women, the lowest infant mortality and a life expectancy similar to that of Western countries, but also is among the states with the lowest per capita income. The State Government of Kerala, seeing that the state has "a unique combination of winning tourism products...due to its natural beauty, eco-diversity and cultural heritage," identifies tourism as "a powerful engine of economic growth in terms of wealth and employment generation" (State Planning Board 2003: 195,194). Kerala seeks to create "jobs ...where the people are" rather than continuing to see its "people...moving from Kerala to where the jobs are" (2003: 3).

I explore the role tourism plays in Kerala's development and the conditions under which tourism creates sustainable gains so people benefit from its expansion. More specifically, this study explores the relationship between personal and community identity and tourism as a sustainable plan for socioeconomic development in order to appropriate a different orientation toward development which takes into consideration the interaction of players at varying levels, from the international level to the state and local levels. This refigured act of development not only considers the relationship among these players, but by design, also mediates traditions and a need for flexibility to successfully navigate changing circumstances of a modern world thus providing space for identity to be considered one of development's essential elements.

Because my central inquiry is a question of the relationship among culture, identity and socioeconomic development, I believe a critical hermeneutic orientation offers a unique vantage from which to disclose something different than research done from within the realm of traditional social sciences. Critical hermeneutics moves a researcher beyond descriptive, empirical language of social science into metaphors and narratives of poetic language. Poetic language thus offers possibility for deeper meaning because it lends itself to mystery revealed through imagination and hope. In order to disclose and appropriate a different orientation toward socioeconomic development and tourism as one medium thereof in Kerala, I believe this poetic language is essential.

Background to Research Topic

According to the World Tourism and Travel Council, travel and tourism,

> ...is one of the largest sectors of the world economy, responsible for over 10 per cent of global GDP [Gross Domestic Product] and 200 million jobs worldwide. The industry is strategically important to virtually every country as it is growing and incoming visitors bring precious foreign currency (www.wttc.org/frameset2.htm).

At the same time, tourism has not been studied as seriously as other global industries because of the "concern of scholars that...[it] may appear too much like taking a vacation and getting paid for it...[and] the tendency to frame research questions in a simplistic, normative manner" (Wood 1997: 3). As the assumptions upon which the industry has grown prove untenable and the costs of tourism are more evident, much more attention is being paid in the form of research. Much of the research, though, remains sequestered in disciplinary camps even though it is recognized that it is "an untidy industry which sprawls inconsiderately over a number of industrial classifications and academic disciplines" (Young 1973: 3). Many disregard this fact saying, other effects of tourism,

"although extremely important," (Sinclair 1998: 1) will not be considered, thus "constraining...an adequate understanding of tourism's place in the contemporary world" (Wood 1997: 3). Tourism under these circumstances is viewed mainly as an economic activity with the potential to bring the benefits of the global economy to developing countries, though often without proper understanding of a local culture and environment.

India is only recently putting greater emphasis on tourism, lagging significantly behind other Asian countries like Thailand and China. While "tourist arrivals jumped eighteen percent to a record 2.75 million in 2003...in comparison, more than 13 million tourists visited China, more than ten million went to Thailand...in 2002...according to each country's official figures" (Europe Intelligence Wire 2004). There is evidence that India's real growth in tourism is yet to come: the recent diplomatic moves toward peace with Pakistan, economic reforms and infrastructure improvements, and starting in 1983 with four sites, India now has 26 of the 788 World Heritage Sites (www.whc.unesco.org). These factors suggest tourism's social and economic viability.

The promise and cost of tourism's growth is nowhere more evident in India than in Kerala, where it increased at a rate of 30 percent in 2003, making it one of the fastest growing tourism sites in the world. National Geographic Traveler Magazine publicizes that Kerala is "one of the ten 'must see' destinations of the millennium" (Business Line 2000) and *Saveur* (Kaimal 2004: 79), an international food magazine, says that South India (Kerala's location, see Figure 1, page 10) has the "liveliest breakfast of the tropics."

As the title of one press release from Press Trust of India (PTI 2004) puts it, these accolades add "one more feather in the tourism cap of Kerala." State tourism officials however are wary of "turn[ing] the State into a mass destination; that would destroy the

attractions and Kerala could go the Goa way" (Hindu Press Service 2000). Part of this wariness comes from hard learned lessons, for example, as in one of Kerala's coastal villages, Kovalam. It began losing tourism trade in 2000 after twenty good years and,

> [a]t first, experts and tour operators wondered if economic factors and shifting tourist tastes accounted for the drying up of tourism, but there was no evidence of either. Finally, they discovered the culprit: mushrooming piles of garbage had tainted the reputation of the village...[because it] has no official plan to deal with waste management (Mastny 2001: 5).

Further, there were outbreaks of diseases that could be attributed to "deteriorating water quality and sanitation conditions" (2001: 5). Thus, Keralites found that supporting growth in tourism for employment's sake could not be their sole focus, they must reconcile tourism growth with the health of its citizens. Any long term gains that may come from tourism must come as an outcome from this focus on citizens' needs.

Significance of Study

The above scenario suggests that an inquiry into the interdependence of tourism as a sustainable socioeconomic scheme and personal and community identity might be fruitful. But what is motivating my interest in this question? I have two answers to this, one of which I share here, the other, a more personal response, I share in the section on Background of the Researcher at the end of Chapter Four.

I regularly read Thomas Friedman's insightful coverage of the world in the *New York Times*, particularly of the Middle East and more recently of India. In an editorial on October 30, 2002, Friedman quotes a Bahraini independent news editor:

> 'There is a vacuum,' he said. 'You empty a person, you fill him with money, you fill him with material things, but that does not fulfill his aspirations as a human being. He has some objectives. He has feelings. He is not fulfilled. And all of a sudden someone comes and tells him that the cause of all that is this global power [America], which has insulated us, which continues to look at us as a bunch of nothings...And all of a

> sudden he directs his anger at what he thinks is the reason why he doesn't have what he wants—his sense of being a true human able to express himself and having influence on his society and being respected locally and internationally. This lack of respect as a dignified person has resulted in a bin Laden phenomenon.'

This quote implies that ignoring identity, "looking at us as a bunch of nothings," is damaging. When we follow mainstream economic development practices, excluding or minimizing local social and cultural factors, i.e., when we focus only on "fill[ing] him with money...[which] does not fulfill his aspirations as a human being," we ignore the importance of having "access to those goods which enable [him] to invent, explore possibilities, and bring [his] capacities to maturity" (Goulet 1973: 242). Friedman's quote is a stark reminder that identity, the "sense of being a true human," is an aspect of the dis-ease in people attracted to terrorist activities. I posit, likewise, that lack of attention to the dignity of each person in acts of socioeconomic development has equally dire consequences: as we continue to operate unaware, rich nations grow richer while the poorer ones, trying to play by the same global rules, become increasingly frustrated by an income target moving even further away.

If we believe that all people must have their dignity respected, and that dignity and one's work are linked, we cannot continue to view socioeconomic development from a narrow, western-centric perspective that disregards different sociocultural factors. As Julius Nyerere states it, "when we tried to promote...development in the past, we sometimes spent huge sums of money... supplying...modern equipment and social services...what we were doing, in fact, was thinking of development in terms of things, and not of people" (in Smith 1998/2002: 3). How do we respect people's dignity and help create sustainable livelihoods? And how do we act respectfully if we are operating

in a development model based in a "scientific paradigm which depends on economic markers, not historical ones... [which does not create conditions for] people to retain their identity" (Herda 2004)? Respect requires a different orientation towards development, one where we are oriented toward the other.

This respectful orientation is possible if we approach our development practices from a critical hermeneutic perspective. We must recognize that individual and communal identities are created in part by their everyday contexts and interpersonal relationships. Identities are also disclosed in cultural traditions as they reach to embrace the kingdom of "*as if*". Socioeconomic development undertaken with a critical hermeneutic perspective recognizes that individual and social identities oscillate between a claim of sameness, to "not change in spite of the course of time and in spite of the change of events around and within [them]" and a need for flexibility which is "a way of dealing with change, not denying it" (Ricoeur 1999: 8). An orientation toward the other in development practices mediate technical know-how with a value commitment toward the work. These are perspectives that critical hermeneutics offers and can lead all actors in a development arena to understand the very real damage being done in the name of development and to ask new questions that can lead to different liberating approaches.

Summary

Thomas Friedman's editorial implies we avoid issues of identity at our peril. I seek to participate in configuring a development narrative of tourism of a different kind in Kerala in which authentic, sustainable livelihoods are created, respecting the dignity of each person. I believe the foundation for respecting people's dignity is to find a place for identity in acts of development. This foundation is formed by configuring our narratives

together, seeing the differences between our cultures as a productive horizon for interaction. It is with a sense of flexibility that we mediate these differences which keeps us open to change. Over time, the relationships we build orient us toward the other, opening new opportunities, including the possibility of appropriating a new orientation toward socioeconomic development.

One of my most significant gifts from studying critical hermeneutics is the idea that research is best done from a position in life rather than from an illusory position of neutrality outside of it that most researchers seek (Herda 2004). This participative role holds true not only for research, but also as I think about a different way to approach development practice. This means at least two different things: one, as a researcher, I, too, am part of a process of imagining myself otherwise, thus, I must be open to the change inherent in the imagining. In other words, my story changes as I become part of the narrative of development. And two, while we still respect and frequently engage the analytic tradition in research or in development practice, we go beyond it, engaging *phronesis* [practical wisdom] toward *praxis* [informed action]. Critical hermeneutics require a new orientation—an orientation that not only encompasses logic and technical know-how but also joy and beauty, pain, ugliness and, most importantly, responsibility. It also has a different language—a poetic one that embraces narrative.

The above orientation reveals that we cannot sustain the belief that supports most modern development practices—we must move outside the epistemological maze and its normative and simplistic questions (Wood 1997: 3). Only in an ontological turn can we engage the idea that "at its deepest levels life is not a problem but a mystery. The distinction...is fundamental: problems are to be solved, true mysteries are not"

(Simmons 2002: 8). In other words, we cannot stay in the problem/solution paradigm of current development practices. If we "participate in mystery only by letting go of solutions" (2002: 8), then to appropriate development in a new way, we must seek to stand on different ground. I hope that the work on this topic from within the critical hermeneutic perspective will offer such ground.

This work proceeds as follows: Chapter Two introduces the place of my exploration, Kerala, particularly looking into its so-called development puzzle. Chapter Three begins with a review of literature on tourism from the perspective of socioeconomic development. This topic is followed by a brief overview of critical hermeneutics and its application to development. I then explore three concepts in critical hermeneutic theory which create interesting boundaries for analysis of development activities, Narrative Identity of Ricoeur (1984, 1988, 1995, 1999), Care from the work of Heidegger (1962) and Ricoeur (1988) and the theory of the differentiation of lifeworld and system from Habermas's (1984,1987) Theory of Communicative Action. Chapter Four details my Research Process, including the theoretical framework and research protocol. The chapter includes a brief narrative of my background.

Chapter Five is a presentation of my data collected in Kerala and in Washington, D.C. during two visits to each place in 2004. This chapter offers an explanation of how Kerala satisfies conditions for creating tourism of a different kind and sets the stage for Chapter Six, Data Analysis. Working with the three concepts from critical hermeneutic theory introduced in Chapter Three, I offer ideas of how a change in orientation toward development creates space for identity to be disclosed through narratives. Chapter Seven summarizes my new understandings and offers some implications for future action.

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND ON KERALA

Introduction

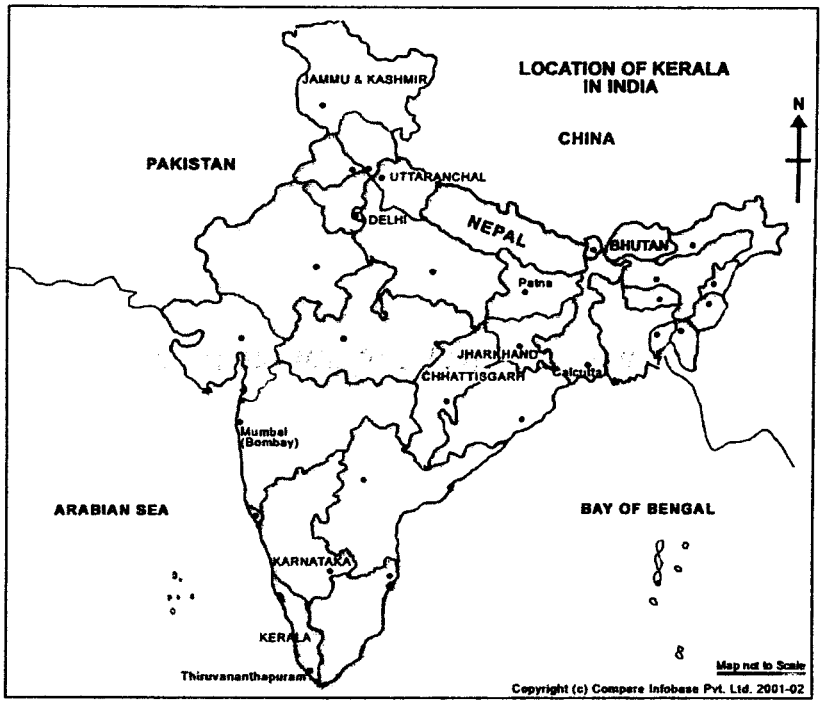


Figure 1: Location of Kerala in India

In 1947, at the dawn of India's independence, Jawaharlal Nehru "reminded the country that the task ahead included 'the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity'" (Sen and Drèze 1999/95: 1). In its best sense, Nehru's words are a covenant with the Indian people that has both intrinsic and instrumental value: intrinsic in the sense that "[t]he bettering of human life does not have to be justified by showing that a person with a better life is also a better producer" but instrumental in the sense that "[b]asic education, good health and other human attainments are not only directly valuable as constituent elements of our basic capabilities, these capabilities can also help in generating economic success of a more standard kind..." (1999/95: 184-185). But as half a century has passed, this promise is yet to be fully realized while other countries such as South Korea and China, at a similar starting point in relation to

development, have surpassed India's progress.

The State of Kerala (Figure 1) is an exception to this lagging progress. Though unemployment is perennially high and per capita income is lower than several other states in India, adult literacy is over ninety percent, while literacy among school age children is considered to be one hundred percent (Parayil 2000: 4). Studies show the effects of these "impressive gains in literacy...emphasize the central role of women's education ... and its close relation to the process of enhanced health status" (Kannan 2000: 64), another important social development indicator.

When Verrier Elwin, a British Anglican priest who became one of India's pioneering anthropologists (Roy 1970: 197) first came to India in 1927 via present day Sri Lanka, he landed on the Malabar Coast. Elwin (1964: 40) writes:

> How thrilling it was to stand at last on Indian soil which to my youthful and romantic imagination was sacred, hallowed by the feet of countless saints, mystics and seekers after truth. How beautiful it was—Malabar in early December, fresh and green. I had read of the dirt, the squalor, poverty and ignorance of India, and I remember how astonished I was at the cleanliness, the people well-fed and well-dressed, and the thousands of boys and girls pouring into the schools. I was to see poverty later on...

Malabar is part of what is now the state of Kerala (Figure 2), in southern India, which is comprised of the former Princely States of Cochin and Travancore and the Malabar Region of the former Madras Presidency (Ratnam 1995: xxiii). The state of Kerala has, according to the 2001 Census, a population of 31.8 million people (State Planning Board 2004: 382). It was created in 1956 by the central government of India as a single Malayalam-speaking region and had the first democratically elected communist government in the world, a political view which has continued to wield influence. According to Casinader (2000: 201), "since the formation of the state of Kerala,

governments have alternated between the Communist Party of India—Marxist [CPM] or the CPM-led Left Democratic Front (LDF) and Congress-led United Democratic Front (UDF)."

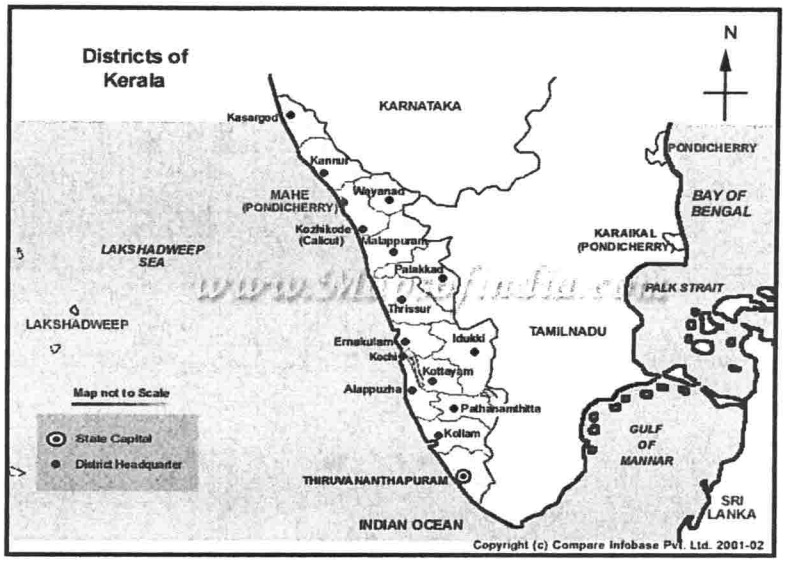


Figure 2: Districts of Kerala

Legend about Kerala says that it was created by the Hindu god Parusurama, a warrior, who was an incarnation of Vishnu. After engaging in a 21-year battle, he finally retired to the Western Ghats. The legend of "God's own country," Kerala, says that,

> [d]istraught at his murderous behavior, he [Parusurama] beseeched the gods for help. The sea god Varuna responded, pledging to give Parusurama land which equaled the distance that he could throw his ax. Parusurama mustered all his mighty physical strength and swung his ax which soared through the air to Kanyakumari, India's southern tip. With that the seas receded, exposing the strip of land that forms Kerala.
>
> Parusurama's act was a repudiation of war and therefore, for many, Kerala was created as a land of peace and harmony (Cannon and Davis 2000: 14).

As Kerala's high standing among the Indian states in terms of literacy and health care, this legend and Elwin's quote above indicate, there is something about Kerala that sets it apart from the rest of India. This chapter highlights Kerala's geography and history, including its economic and political landscapes, which help in understanding why Kerala

presents itself as a development puzzle to many researchers. This puzzling prefigured world on which Kerala's present day narrative is configured establishes the ground upon which a refigured narrative of tourism of a different kind emerges in Chapter Five.

Geography

Like all legends, the one above has some basis in truth. The landmass of Kerala, formed by volcanic action, was formed later than the main landmass that is India. This volcanic action caused rivers to carry their heavy deposits of silt to the sea, creating inland cities out of coastal ones. The tidal action of the Lakshadweep Sea surges inland up the rivers creating islands of silt, deep backwaters and huge lakes. Thus, Kerala can be thought of in three main sections: the highly fertile, western coastal lowlands with backwaters linked by canals; the central rolling hills; and the once thickly forested mountain range of the Western Ghats which creates a climatic barrier between Kerala and Tamil Nadu, its neighbor to the east.

While Tamil Nadu is virtually a desert, Kerala, the first area in India to receive the summer monsoons, has its rivers replenished annually with as much as 2500 mm of rain. This combination of land and climate makes Kerala home to many of world's best pepper plantations, along with growing rice, tea, spices, coconuts and coffee (Cannon and Davis 2000: 16, 17). What was fifty years ago a "largely subsistence-oriented rural economy...has become a highly commercialized economy in which cash crops, primarily rubber and coconut, now account for three-quarters of the cultivated area" (Heller 1999: 51). Kerala is the major cash crop-producing state in India and is "perhaps the most affected by agriculture related trade policies adopted by the Government of India. The removal of QRs [quotas] on imports has several adverse implications for the

sustainability of cash crop of Kerala" (State Planning Board 2003: 30). Meanwhile, the importance of agriculture to the state's economy has "decelerated during the late nineties" (2003: 30) and Kerala has the "lowest percentage [of population] of any major Indian state...[that] earns its livelihood from agriculture" (Heller 1999: 51).

In addition to cash crop agriculture, the Western Ghats region of Kerala is recognized as a "'biodiversity hotspot' considering its rich but threatened flora, fauna and micro-organisms" (MSSRF 2004a: 2). Located here is one of the world's largest and best caches of native plants known for their medicinal qualities. The M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation (MSSRF 2004a: 2) writes, "[t]hese resources can not only contribute to the livelihood options of the dependent communities but also function as a natural attraction to the tourists and fascination to those who specialize in nature study."

History

Kerala's spices are central to its history. R.W. Apple (2003) writes:

> For centuries, long before the steamship, long before the jet plane, venturesome traders rode the trade winds to Kerala. Romans, Phoenicians, Chinese, Arabs, Portuguese, Frenchmen, Dutchmen and Britons all came here, and so did Jewish merchants from Venice. St. Thomas the Apostle is said to have landed along this coast in A.D. 52, and Christopher Columbus was headed west in search of Kerala's fabled spices when he stumbled upon America.

Rather than the invasion and foreign occupation which characterize the rest of India, it is as a result of this trade and the entering of missionaries through its ports that Kerala has been exposed to the outside world. Cochin (or *Kochi*, see above Figure 2: Districts of Kerala) is where most of these traders, merchants and missionaries landed. Today, Kerala,

> ...reflect[s] a confluence of cultures...commercial exchanges have always been accompanied by a robust traffic of ideas...the result is a remarkably

> outward-looking culture, receptive to new ways of understanding the world, and prone to bouts of self-invention" (Kapur 1998: 44).

Kapur (1998: 44) refers to the characteristic that makes Keralites open minded as "cultural porousness...when newness has come to the state, it has come as an unthreatening insight or idea, as a friend. And Keralites have repeatedly responded in kind, assimilating foreign notions to strengthen the best indigenous traits." This cultural porousness at least partially explains why there is not the violent religious strife in Kerala while it is a common occurrence in northern India. In fact, as Apple (2003) explains:

> Their profound commitment to religious tolerance is symbolized by a venerable custom, known as *pakarcha*, of sharing the celebratory dishes of one's own faith with friends of different religions.

Dempsey (1998) uses the metaphor of the relationship of siblings to describe these inter-religious relationships, both the reliance and the rivalry that characterize them.

This cultural porousness thrives on the transmission of ideas thus making the public sphere in Kerala a vibrant and active part of the culture. Ashutosh Varshney, a political scientist at the University of Michigan says Kerala is like "the America observed by Alexis de Tocqueville in the nineteenth century—a nation filled with 'associations ...of a thousand kinds, religious, moral, serious, futile, general or restricted, enormous or diminutive'" (in Kapur 1998: 45). Politically active citizens result, which is evident in "the ballot box and [in] other traditional methods of effecting political change. In the nineteenth century lower-caste protests electrified the state; in the middle of this century the land-reform movement galvanized Keralan society" (1998: 46).

Heller (1999: 6, 2) refers to Kerala's "history of sustained social mobilization," particularly the mobilization of the subordinate classes and "maintain[s] that development in Kerala has been driven [by this mobilization] not by market forces or by an emerging

bourgeoisie." Seeing Kerala as "an extended case study of the double transition" of democracy and capitalism, Heller (1999: 5, 4, 6) writes:

> We must come to terms with the simple proposition that development is and should be contested...because democracy in India predates capitalist transformation, it has formally empowered economic groups—unskilled workers, peasants and landless laborers—that have more often than not been the victims of capitalist development... Development is always contested, but not always transparently so...In Kerala, democratic institutions bequeathed by the Indian nationalist movement, together with local patterns of conflict and mobilization, have conspired to bring the masses into the open—*before* the development of capitalism.

Today, Kerala's democratic institutions are in need of reform, as indicated in the State Planning Board's Economic Review of 2002 (2003: 388). Corruption, opacity of action and lack of accountability are cited as causes for the government's inefficient and ineffective performance of its duties. There was an attempt to address these and other issues by the previous LDF government in the form of the "People's Campaign" which was implemented from 1996-2001 when they were in power (Franke and Chasin 2000: 32). When the UDF returned to power in 2002, another model for governance was proposed to address these issues (State Planning Board 2003: 390-396). The Planning Board (2003: 396) writing about these initiatives, concludes, "[t]hese good governance initiatives together constitute the most critical factor in putting back Kerala on to the path of development." First and foremost among its principles for its development strategy is "protecting and building the social gains that Kerala made in the past" (2003: 391).

This strong sense of social and political agency continues today in large part due to the literacy of Kerala's population. Kannan (2000: 50, 51) comments:

> Educational capacity is often captured in terms of the literacy rate...As with other indicators, this...is only a proxy for the wider notion of education...[E]xtend[ing] the notion of education beyond schools...[i]t goes without saying that communication plays a crucial role in facilitating

> information dissemination. The print media occupy a prominent place in this because of their long historical existence relative to other communications media...At least one newspaper or periodical copy is available for every five persons or every three adults in Kerala...Given the high level and pace of social activism in Kerala, the habit of reading is quite widespread...This is the cumulative result of a historical process of social and political mobilization of the masses in general and the poorer sections in particular.

Staying informed, being politically and socially active are indications of how the people of Kerala "[broke] away from the past, particularly the rigid caste distinctions and unfair and exploitative socio-economic conditions" (Lieten 2002: 52). They are also elements in understanding the "spirit of entitlement [which] has been the engine of Kerala's development" (Kapur 1998: 46). All of this history, the cultural porousness, the political activism and sustained social mobilization, and democratic reforms are parts of the narrative that make up the identity of the people of Kerala and offer some insight into why a development puzzle exists there today.

The Development Puzzle of Kerala

The world media has given a great amount of attention to India's progress, especially related to the high tech field. While India graduates approximately 155,000 English-speaking engineers in a typical year (Arora et al. 2001: 1277), in the area of basic education the literacy rate of adults in India is only about 50%. Sen and Drèze (1999/95: 111) give three reasons that have contributed to basic education's neglect:

> (1) the conservative upper-caste notion that knowledge is not important or appropriate for the lower castes; (2) a distorted understanding of Gandhi's view that 'literacy in itself is no education;' and (3) the belief, held in some radical quarters, that the present educational system is a tool of subjugation of the lower classes or a vestige of the colonial period.

Neglect of basic education has bearing on whether poverty alleviation programs can be politically viable in a democratic state like India because mobilization of voters who

would support these programs is difficult. If voters are illiterate and their rationality is based on subsistence, not on growth or claiming a better life (Varshney 2000: 724), it is unlikely that they are well informed about the very programs that would benefit them.

The great regional diversity of India is often masked by unifying generalizations made about the entire state. Part of this "illusion of unity" comes from the time of British rule when they "linked the subcontinent's extremities with railroads and communications systems, raised, trained and equipped Asia's most powerful army, established its most efficient civil service and built its grandest new capital at New Delhi" (Wolpert 1999: 576). There are inequities in development region to region in India. Some of these inequities are reflected in large variations in infant mortality and literacy rates for women in different states as they relate to one another and to other developing countries (Sen and Drèze 1999/95: 4).

In 1991, an economic crisis brought on changes in government policy which were focused on "stabilizing the economy; reforming the financial sector, public enterprises and the investment, trade and tax regimes; and giving the private sector a much greater role in India's growth and development" (World Bank 1998). Thus, the debate over the development space in India has been preoccupied with lessening the government's control over the economy while neglecting discussion of its more positive role of supporting social reforms. According to Sen and Drèze (1999/95: 26),

> [t]here are certainly issues to be sorted out in this 'negative' sphere, but what the debate neglects altogether is the importance of positive functions, such as provision of public education, health services and arrangements for social security. There is scope for debate in this field as well...but nothing is sorted out in these matters by concentrating almost completely on the pros and cons of negative roles of the government...What is needed most of all at this time is a broadening of focus.

Kerala is an exception in almost every case listed above. Sen and Drèze's work most prominently represents the general consensus about Kerala's model that the "dramatic improvements in the quality of life of the poor are the direct result of effective public action and not economic growth" (Heller 1999: 8). However, as was discussed above, Heller (1999: 3) paints a more complex picture and "points to the significance of [Kerala's] local histories of state-society engagements" and posits that "Kerala's departure from the national pattern has resulted from specific patterns of class formation and the institutional linkages that emerged from repeated cycles of class-based contestation and state intervention."

Lieten (2002: 47) characterizes Kerala as having a "human development puzzle," with India's highest literacy rates for men and women, the lowest infant mortality and a life expectancy similar to that of Western countries, but also has a lower per capita income than expected based on these human development indicators. Lieten (2002: 49) writes there are "three modes of explanation...[its] cultural traits...[based on] its (non-) colonial past ...[its] agency and empowerment in the wake of social movements...[and the] structural changes in equity relations." Through an exploration of the political activity of the communist government of E.M.S. Namboodiripad from 1957-59 in the areas of land and education reform, Lieten (2002: 61, 62) concludes that by "creating the enabling environment...the EMS government instilled a different mode of belonging in the minds of the majority of the people...[and it is] this sense of belonging, and the rights which it entailed [which] made for a drastic upturn in human development."

This upturn in human development is only part of Kerala's puzzle; the other part relates to the low per capita income. Kerala remains largely agricultural and with a

history of unrest related to the land tenure system which "held in place the many forms of caste privilege and oppression" (Franke et al. 1991: 4), land reform became a major initiative of the communist government. Different researchers question whether the land reforms were successful (Lieten 2002: 58; Franke et al. 1991: 4); both claim they had indirect positive outcomes, including reforms in tenant rights, access to government subsidies and increased bargaining power of landless laborers. According to Sharma (1999: 124*n*52), they

> ...were successfully implemented because of the extraordinary political mobilization through participatory and democratic means of a broad coalition of smallholder peasants, tenants, sharecroppers, the landless and urban-based groups such as labor unions and students...[However] the reforms in Kerala have by no means solved the agrarian problems, in particular the problems of poverty and associated malnutrition and ill health among the poor...Kerala has not been able to generate agricultural dynamism needed to enhance income and living standards.

The policy to redistribute land was viewed as central to development strategy by this government. This example shows however that development is a far more complex practice. Positive outcomes do arise, but as recently as the summer of 2004, there was a spate of farmers' suicides resulting from their inability to pay off debts due to the falling prices of agricultural products in the world market. Local farmers' relief organizations mobilized protests against the current UDF (United Democratic Front, led by the Congress Party) government for its "apathy...over the alarming rate of suicides of the farmers, the organizations...[were set to agitate] against the inhuman and irresponsible attitude of the Government" (New India Express 2004: 4).

A positive outcome from this policy of land reform is that "servility and subservience [are] replaced by reliance on public services and realization [by Kerala's poor] of their entitlement to the social infrastructure" (Lieten 2002: 60). The latter is

preferable to the former perspective; people can now make better decisions regarding their children's education, for instance. But as can be seen from the farmers' suicides reported above, land reform cannot stand alone as a policy in development. It must be part of more comprehensive scheme that addresses economic as well as social concerns.

Because of the inconsistencies between human development and per capita incomes, Kerala continues to search for solutions for its unemployment. Migrants—whether it is to other Indian states or to other countries—"constitute about 3.6 percent of total population of Kerala and 95.6 percent of the migrants are in Gulf Countries...with Saudi Arabia alone accounting for nearly 40 percent of the total" are making "cash remittances [which] constitute about 9.3 percent of the SDP [State Domestic Product]" (State Planning Board 2003: 27, 26). This "lucky break...cannot be expected to continue forever. There are already many warning bells" (2003: 3). With the desire to have "jobs...moved to where the people are" rather than have "people...moving from Kerala to where jobs are" (2003: 3) and with "a unique combination of winning tourism products" (2003: 195), Kerala is positioned to see tourism as a likely industry to give its economy a sustainable source of income for its citizens.

The next chapter offers a review of literature, including a section on tourism as a socioeconomic plan for development which helps to establish that tourism has its benefits which "are more immediately apparent" and yet it "poses risks for the developing countries" (Westlake et al. 1989: 14).

CHAPTER THREE: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

My review of the existing literature discerns the contours of what was studied before and looks for new openings for my research project. Chapter Two above introduced the state of Kerala, which establishes the place for the research. Chapter Three proceeds as follows: the first section addresses literature on tourism as a socioeconomic scheme in developing countries, based in the current development paradigm. It establishes the focus of inquiry. This is followed by a brief introduction to critical hermeneutic theory and how it offers a different orientation to development. The hermeneutic theory I introduce is narrative theory by Paul Ricoeur (1984, 1988, 1992, 1995, 1999), the notion of care from the philosophy of Martin Heidegger (1962) and the theory of the differentiation of system and lifeworld of Jürgen Habermas (1984, 1987), an integral part of his Theory of Communicative Action. These theories are useful in development settings in relation to culture, tradition, identity, modernity and action.

Tourism as a Means of Socioeconomic Development

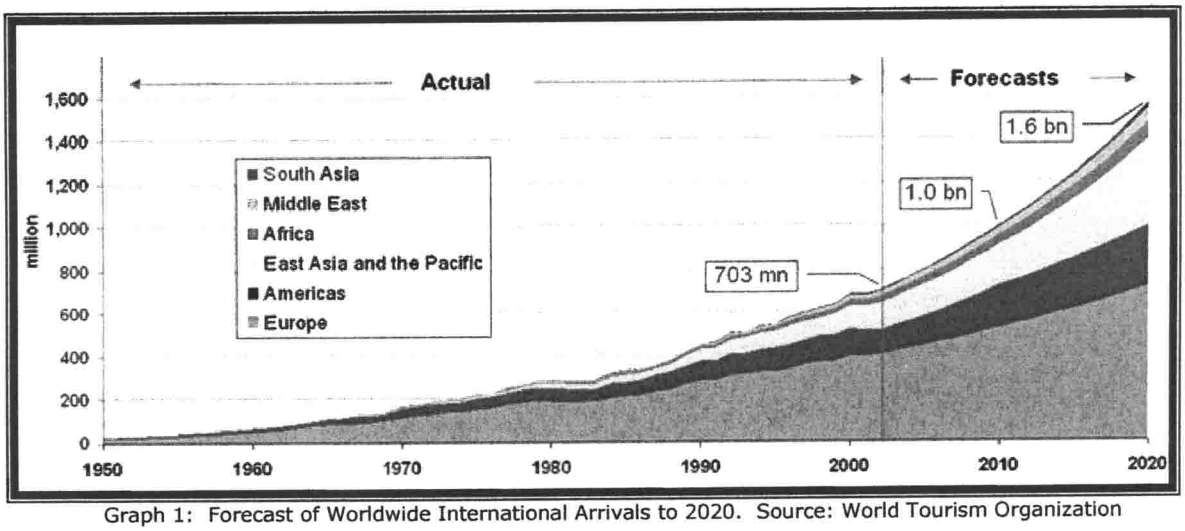
> To make Kerala, God's own country, into an up market, high-quality tourism destination through rational utilization of resources with focus on the integrated development of infrastructure sector, conserving and preserving the heritage and environment and enhancing productivity, income, creating employment opportunities, alleviating poverty, thereby making tourism the most important sector for the socioeconomic development and environmental protection of the State (State Planning Board 2003: 201; World Travel and Tourism Council 2003: 21).

The above statement, Kerala's tourism vision, written in 1995 by the Tourism Department of the State Government of Kerala, reflects the direction of action to be taken by the government and private sector investors to create socioeconomic opportunities in the State. It is indicative of the kind of changes that have occurred in international

tourism in recent years, acknowledging tourism's influence on local economies, cultures and environment. The next section is a review of literature covers the following: some history and definitions of tourism, some figures showing tourism's continued growth as the world's largest industry, some economic, cultural and environmental effects of tourism, and finally, how the focus on growth of this industry is considered necessary but is not sufficient for creating sustainable development as long as individual and community identities are not a part of the work.

People have always traveled, whether it was to attend the Olympics in ancient Greece, for religious pilgrimage or, in more recent times, with the advent of leisure, to get away from work and relax in a different environment for a few days or weeks. Mass tourism, starting in the nineteenth century, is primarily the result of having the monetary resources, the time and better transportation routes and means of travel, the train and airplane. Tourism has moved from the "'Grand Tour' [taken by] the leisured and moneyed classes of richer countries" (Nicholson-Lord 1997: 11) in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to, now, international tourism is compared with "the ubiquitous McDonald's and symbolizes globalization not only in its massive movement of people to virtually every corner of the world but also in its linkage of economic, political and sociocultural elements" (Wood 1997: 2).

Graph 1 below shows the World Tourism Organization's vision which forecasts international arrivals worldwide at 1.56 billion by 2020 (http://www.world-tourism.org/market_research/facts/menu.html).



Graph 1: Forecast of Worldwide International Arrivals to 2020. Source: World Tourism Organization

Table 1 below shows the numbers by region in the world. "South Asia," which includes Kerala and the rest of India, is expected to grow faster compared to some parts of the world (State Planning Board 2003: 194). The relatively low figures of inbound tourists to South Asia compared to other parts of the world shows that tourism as an industry has

WTO Tourism 2020 Vision: Forecast of Inbound Tourism, World by Regions
International Tourist Arrivals by Tourist Receiving Region (million)

	Base Year	Forecasts		Average Annual Growth Rate (%)	Market share	
	1995	2010	2020	1995-2020	1995	2020
World	**565.4**	**1,006.4**	**1,561.1**	**4.1**	**100**	**100**
Africa	20.2	47.0	77.3	5.5	3.6	5.0
Americas	108.9	190.4	282.3	3.9	19.3	18.1
East Asia and the Pacific	81.4	195.2	397.2	6.5	14.4	25.4
Europe	338.4	527.3	717.0	3.0	59.8	45.9
Middle East	12.4	35.9	68.5	7.1	2.2	4.4
South Asia	4.2	10.6	18.8	6.2	0.7	1.2
Intraregional (a)	464.1	790.9	1,183.3	3.8	82.1	75.8
Long-Haul (b)	101.3	215.5	377.9	5.4	17.9	24.2

Source: World Tourism Organization (WTO) © (Actual data as in WTO database July 2000)

Notes: (a) Intraregional includes arrivals where country of origin is not specified
(b) Long-Haul is defined as everything except intraregional travel

Table 1: Forecast of Inbound International Tourists in World by Region

not developed as a major source of income as it has in other parts of the world. With its "unique combination of winning tourism products" (2003: 195) and need for sustainable work for its citizens, it is little wonder that the state government of Kerala has identified tourism as a priority. These figures above and the ones presented in Chapter One related to Gross Domestic Product and numbers of jobs, show why researchers conclude that tourism is the world's largest industry and the biggest source of employment in the world (Lutz and Prosser 1994; Westlake et al. 1989; Wheat 1994; Wood 1997; WTO [World Tourism Organization] website; WTTC [World Travel and Tourism Council] website).

Tourism is defined by the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO[1]), a United Nations Specialized Agency since 2003 [see Appendix One for chart of United Nations System Principal Organs], as the "activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited" (http://www.worldtourism.org/statistics/tsa _project/basic _references/index-en.htm). As understanding about tourists' influences on host countries have changed, the data collected have changed to reflect these new understandings, from

> ...characteristics of visitors, on the conditions in which they traveled and stayed, the purpose of visit, etc., [to] [n]ow there is an increasing awareness of the role that tourism is playing and can play, directly, indirectly or through induced effects in the economy in terms of generation of value added, employment, personal income, government income, etc.... Besides quantitative information on the flow of visitors such as arrivals and nights and descriptive information on the conditions in which visitors are received and served, countries now need robust information and indicators to enhance the credibility of the measurements concerning the economic importance of tourism (http://www.world-tourism.org/statistics/tsa_project/basic_references/index-en.htm).

[1] The World Tourism Organization's acronym, WTO, is the same as the better known World Trade Organization. For clarity throughout this dissertation, I will differentiate the two by using "UNWTO" for World Tourism Organization, the proposed acronym that is yet to be adopted for use.

The belief that underpinned tourism's growth after World War II that it was a "'smokeless' industry...[that] would be a passport to development—a clean, green industry with lots of jobs and no factories or fumes" is offset by another which says that "'it epitomizes the present unjust world economic order where the few who control wealth and power dictate the terms'" (Nicholson-Lord 1997: 12,13).

Today, governments in developing countries, including state governments like Kerala's, recognize that "tourism is one of [a] few ways to actually participate in the global economy" (Mastny 2001: 19). Unfortunately, they are also coming to realize that its "benefits have generally failed to reach those segments of...[their] populations—such as the very poor—that could gain the most from them" (2001: 21). An industry that was initially viewed as an "absolute good, to be pursued at all costs...[is now seen] as a relative good to be restrained..." (Young 1973: 3).

The UNWTO recognizes that "tourism is an increasingly important development strategy to positively address poverty reduction, economic growth, biodiversity conservation generally, as well as the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) specifically," and following the Johannesburg World Summit for Sustainable Development in 2002, launched

> ...'ST-EP' (Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty) with UNCTAD [United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, see Appendix 1], the UN Agency focusing on the world's poorest countries...ST-EP's goal is to encourage sustainable tourism—social, economic and ecological—which specifically alleviates poverty, bringing development and jobs to people living on less than a dollar a day (UNWTO Forum Document 2004a).

As an organization, they "advocate 'Liberalization with a Human Face,' linking its strategies on fair trade, sustainable development and poverty elimination," (UNWTO

Forum Document 2004a) and acknowledge that "the multifaceted nature of the tourism industry presents special management challenges for donor agencies as well as governments" (UNWTO Forum Document 2004b: 1). The UNWTO views itself as the primary international organization to "launch a global partnership for sustainable tourism development to help the developing world unlock its tremendous tourism potential" (2004b: 2).

Although the economic data have shown tourism's potential to create employment and to bring in foreign exchange, some of the management challenges for developing countries includes "leakage": the flowing out of the "profits earned by foreign-owned businesses, promotional spending abroad or payments for imported goods and labor" (Mastny 2001: 21). The industry is also a low-wage one (Nicholson-Lord 1997: 13). Tourism generates environmental effects, both positive and negative; on one hand, "tourism can be credited with increasing the amount of land designated as national parks, game parks and wildlife reserves worldwide" (Brown 1998: 47). On the other hand, it can also be responsible for "deteriorating water quality and sanitation conditions" (Mastny 2001: 5). These challenges force a government to focus not only on tourism's positive influence on its economic goals but on the sociocultural, environmental and political issues as well.

Young (1973: 1-2), beginning with a question about leakage, lays out a series of questions that although they were asked over thirty years ago, resonate today.

> Does tourist expenditure really filter through to and benefit the local economy...[or is it being] siphoned away and reverting to the tourist's country of origin...Is it the case that the taxpayer or ratepayer of the tourist destination is in fact subsidizing the tourist—who is probably better off—by paying through taxes and rates for expensive tourist infrastructure and capital grants for hotels, without receiving adequate benefit? Is the

> traditional machinery of local government, geared to the priorities and requirements of local residents, able to control or plan for an ever-increasing influx of visitors from abroad? To what extent is the sustained and costly effort made by tourist authorities on behalf of many historic cities to attract and accommodate more tourists undermining their very appeal as tourist destinations? If there are saturation levels...what is being done to calculate those levels and see that they are not exceeded?

While tourism was not created in the modern era, it has expanded and reached the far corners of the earth because of modern advances. The questions above and other questions regarding how to mediate precious resource usage with preservation must be asked to recognize the complexity of creating a sustainable tourism industry that is not existing outside nor apart from a culture but is considered integral to its identity.

Ethnic tourism is a prime example of tourism becoming incorporated into a culture's social life and influencing its identity. The group or community is "a living tourist attraction" (MacCannell 1984: 389). The interaction between tourist and local community suggests that

> ...[t]ourists are neither global villagers nor are they destroying the villages of the world...What one is witnessing is a reification of the simple social virtues, or the ideal of "village life," into something to see. The village is not destroyed, but the function of the village shifts from being the base of social relations in the local community to an interesting detail in the recreational experiences of a tourist from out of town (1984: 387).

If this shift in function of a village prevails over time "the group is frozen in an image of itself or *museumized*" (1984: 388), which works counter not only to a community's ability to evolve and adapt to new circumstances, but also affects the larger society which "is dependent on the capacity of its sub-groups continuously to align themselves in new ways" (1984: 389). Nicholson-Lord (1997: 15) questions, "what is the value of tradition if it is kept alive self-consciously, for profit, and bears little relation to real life...what is

undeniable is that tourism...changes tradition, and for many people...that change looks and feels like degradation," not only for the individual but for the community.

An example in Kerala is its ancient health science, ayurveda, "'the knowledge of life'... a system teaching how to achieve 'Perfect Health'..." (Pushpanath n.d.: 74) which attracts many tourists, and is in danger of being commercialized for profit. The Government of Kerala developed a rating system in "recognition for quality, purity and authenticity of the ayurvedic care rendered to tourists..." (Asia Africa Intelligence Wire 2003) so the experiences tourists have reflect the true nature of what ayurveda can be rather than experiencing a commercialized version that perverts its meaning and value.

Newer forms of tourism that aim to respect both the people and environment while also being economically feasible have become more prevalent through the 1990s and into the 21st century. Regarded as a specific segment of the tourism market, ecotourism is generally defined as,

> environmentally responsible travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas, in order to enjoy, study and appreciate nature (and any accompanying cultural features, both past and present), that promotes conservation, has low visitor impact and provides for beneficially active socioeconomic involvement of local populations (Ceballos-Lascurain 1993: 1).

Because it aims to interact with nature and local populations in a responsible manner, ecotourism is distinguished from other forms of nature tourism, "characterized by the demand for nature oriented activities in attractive, natural and preferably pristine areas ...[where] nature is often used only as a scenic backdrop by both suppliers and consumers without showing an actual interest in the ecology and culture" (Stecker 1996: 3-4).

Ecotourism can be compared favorably with community based tourism which is,

> a form of ecotourism which is hoped to act as an instrument for a sustainable economic and social development of rural areas. The active participation of the community is meant to guarantee the conservation of natural resources. Negative socio-cultural and ecological effects of tourism are to be minimised with this concept. The communities receive support through training, financial (initial) help and consultation from experts (Palm and Pye 2001: 1).

By focusing on community led and environmentally sensitive approaches these newer forms of tourism hold a promise of greater sustainability in development. And yet, as with the UNWTO's view that favors "liberalization with a human face" (UNWTO Forum Document 2004a), there is a perspective that development is framed in a "scientific paradigm which depends on economic markers" (Herda 2004), and is oriented toward things and not people (Nyerere in Smith 1998/2002: 3).

If development efforts are to be sustainable over time, there is a need for a different orientation, an orientation toward the other. In part, this means recognizing that individual and community identities arise out of traditions but are also created by their current social context and the natural environment in which they live. In order to make real and then sustain the vision that the state of Kerala has set out for itself, to be "an up market, high quality tourism destination...preserving the heritage...enhancing productivity...alleviating poverty...making tourism the most important sector for the socioeconomic development and environmental protection of the State" (State Planning Board 2003: 201), I believe new questions need to be asked in the development arena as to how much people can and do participate in the changes brought on by tourism that affect their identities and to support factors that encourage their self awareness and participation. This can lead to policies in which governments take new stances to create truly sustainable gains for their people. The next section introduces critical hermeneutic

theory and discloses some possible intellectual contexts in which these questions might be asked.

Critical Hermeneutics and Development

The modern era of development began in 1949 when President Truman, in his inaugural address, laid out a four-point program for peace, point four being to "embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas" (Baldwin 1966: 72). Although couched in language of humanitarian intent, this position represents a belief in development that conceals its negative effects: "development" is responsible for greater numbers of people living without their daily needs being met as "twenty percent of humanity consumes 80 percent of the planet's resources and finds itself having to boost growth to keep the system going" (Rist 2002: 44-45). Huge bureaucracies exist, dedicated to this belief that development and growth are synonymous, and spend enormous sums of money without lasting, positive results. Rist (2002: 46) writes,

> [o]nce its [development's] presuppositions and sense-giving belief are accepted, the only course is to feed a kind of retrospective effect which widens the problem instead of solving it. This is why *'development,' which is always presented as a solution, is itself actually a problem (as well as creating problems)*...When will we realize that well-being does not come from growth?

Accepting that growth is necessary is not sufficient for creating conditions that build and sustain the dignity of people. In other words, when will we realize we cannot sustain this development model based on a "scientific paradigm which depends on economic markers, not historical ones...[and create conditions for] people to retain their identity and dignity" (Herda 2004)?

To address this dilemma, one of my interests in this dissertation is to suggest a different theoretical stance for informed action, the *praxis* of development. A relationship between theory and *praxis* is important as Bernstein (1983: 160) writes:

> Without some sort of theoretical understanding...there is always the real danger that *praxis* will be ineffectual, merely abstract. Let us not forget that *praxis* requires choice, deliberation and decision about what is to be done in concrete situations. Informed action requires us to try to understand and explain the salient characteristics of the situations we confront. I do not want to suggest that there is an easy way of answering such questions ...But if we are genuinely concerned with *praxis*, we cannot avoid struggling with these complex issues.

Bernstein's view is not isolated to the philosophy world: critics of current development practices are also insistent regarding theory and *praxis*: Rist (2002: 246) posits, "one cannot denounce 'the crisis of development studies' or deplore 'the failure of development' and at the same time continue to think within a paradigm that is at its last gasp." Arce and Long (2000: 2) write that "as a field of enquiry and practical endeavour, development studies is clearly in need of a theoretical overhaul." I posit an overhaul in development requires a different orientation, one where we are oriented toward the other.

A different orientation is possible if we approach our development practices from a critical hermeneutic perspective. This means, in part, recognizing that people, individually and communally, have traditions that are alive, with open horizons, and yet we are able to "assert that every act of understanding is historically situated, linguistically conditioned and finite" (Palmer 2000: 493). We are also oriented to critique the ideology of modernity which from a social and political theoretical perspective makes room "for the disenfranchised exploited other in developing countries" (2000: 495). This is important if we hope to change conditions so those who are traditionally exploited have a possibility of creating a better life. Further, in critical hermeneutics, we not only

recognize tradition and its importance and critique modernity, but we are moved to act ethically, to "appropriate something better—'the good life for and with others in just institutions'" (Herda 2004). None of these is available in the scientific paradigm of development, and so suffering worsens as we believe we offer aid. The three sections that follow, narrative identity, care, and the differentiation of lifeworld and system offer some theory to guide a refiguration of a narrative of development, one in which the differences between cultures become horizons for releasing one's power-to-act—a power-to-act to imagine a different future and thus, refigure and claim one's identity.

Narrative Identity

Saying in a different way what I said in the introduction of this dissertation, engaging issues of identity, be they individual, community, societal or ethnic, are essential if we want to live peacefully in a pluralistic world. Evidence from ongoing conflicts in the world speak to our attempts in the past century to address some issues of identity: political power, often in the form of a dictatorship, was used to quash religious, ethnic and cultural strife that arose out of a desire to be identified as belonging to a particular group. When the source of that power is removed, the same conflicts arise again because people have not assumed new identities. We are seeing similar reactions as we discover that the traditional models for development, practiced since the end of World War II can inflict pain and suffering, often as much or more than they relieve it.

To begin thinking anew about development an important question to raise is, "[w]hen will we realize that well-being does not come from growth?" (Rist: 2002: 46). Traditional models of development that see growth and development as synonymous operate in the paradigm of economics, more specifically, globalization, whose

> driving idea...is free-market capitalism—the more you let market forces rule and the more you open your economy to free trade and competition, the more efficient and flourishing your economy will be...[It] has its own set of economic rules—rules that revolve around opening, deregulating and privatizing your economy (Friedman 1999: 8).

The question above however raises the issue that it is time to find a way to resist the pull toward this economic path, in order to engage different ideas about well-being.

I posit that a new orientation toward development begins with an orientation toward the other. How do we orient ourselves toward people of different cultures, traditions and identities in the development act? A starting point is to ask someone who they are, ask them to tell a story. Kearney (2002: 4) writes:

> When someone asks you *who* you are, you tell your story. That is, you recount your present condition in the light of past memories and future anticipations. You interpret where you are now in terms of where you have come from and where you are going to. And so doing you give a sense of yourself as a *narrative* identity that perdures and coheres over a lifetime.

Yet, Ricoeur (1988: 248) writes that "narrative identity is not a stable and seamless identity. Just as it is possible to compose several plots on the subject of the same incidents...so it is always possible to weave different, even opposed, plots about our lives." Telling a story "gives meaning to the past, helps us re-interpret the present and provides guidance for the future" (Herda 1994: 17). We begin to know the other and so doing know ourselves differently, central in a new orientation toward development.

For meaning to arise in a narrative, it requires a plot, the "teleologically guided movement of our expectations" (Ricoeur 1981: 277). A plot creates a sense of directedness and order: it carries an expectation that one will find new meaning, perhaps even discover who one is. Ricoeur (1995b: 222), in a conversation with Kearney, says,

> narration preserves the meaning that is behind us so that we can have meaning before us. There is always *more* order in what we narrate than in what we have actually already lived; and this narrative excess of order, coherence and unity, is a prime example of the creative power of narration.

To connect the process of emplotment with the experience of lived time, Ricoeur (1984: 31) introduces the concept of *mimesis* or the "creative imitation" of action. By creating "the three moments of mimesis that seriously and playfully, I named *mimesis*$_1$, *mimesis*$_2$, *mimesis*$_3$," he posits that "time becomes human to the extent that it is articulated through a narrative mode, and narrative attains its full meaning when it becomes a condition of temporal existence" (1984: 53, 52).

Ricoeur (1984: 54) refers to *mimesis*$_1$ as the prenarrative structure: "the composition of plot is grounded in a pre-understanding of the world of action." *Mimesis*$_2$ holds the "intermediary position between the two operations... *mimesis*$_1$, *mimesis*$_3$,... drawing its intelligibility from its faculty of mediation...transfiguring the one side into the other through its power of configuration" (1984: 53). Ricoeur (1984: 71) says that it is in *mimesis*$_3$ that "marks the intersection of the world of the text and the world of the hearer or reader...the world wherein real action occurs and unfolds its specific temporality" and that it is in "the hearer or reader that the traversal of *mimesis* reaches its fulfillment." While action is present in all three stages it is in *mimesis*$_3$ where it is most important. Herda (1999: 78-79) writes, "[a]t this stage [in *mimesis*$_3$] we imagine ourselves acting and inhabiting a world with indirect reference to the world in *mimesis*$_1$. There is a new possibility for living our lives and carrying out our policies when we critique our taken-for-granted world." Critiquing my own taken-for-granted world has

been and will continue to be important as I work with others in Kerala to disclose something new in development.

The relationship between emplotment and the experience of lived time are essential elements in recognizing that identity is narrative in nature. Ricoeur (1992: 114*n*1) writes:

> Do we not consider human life to be more readable when they have been interpreted in terms of the stories that people tell about them? And are not these life stories in turn made more intelligible when the narrative models of plots...are applied to them? It therefore seems plausible to take the following chains of assertions as valid: self-understanding is an interpretation; interpretation of the self, in turn, finds in the narrative, among other signs and symbols, a privileged form of mediation.

Learning that "one of our most viable forms of identity—individual and communal" (Kearney 2002: 4) is narrative in nature, opens one to

> ...discover an ineradicable openness and indeterminacy at the root of one's collective memory...that is, a narrative construction to be reinvented and reconstructed again and again. After such discovery of one's narrative identity, it is more difficult to make the mistake of taking oneself *literally*, of assuming that one's collective identity *goes without saying*. This is why, at least in principle, the tendency of a nation towards xenophobic or insular nationalism can be resisted by its own narrative resources to imagine itself otherwise—either through its own eyes or those of others (Kearney 1999: 26).

In a new orientation toward development the responsibility to imagine otherwise belongs to everyone involved in the work. This work begins in conversation, in the configuring of new narratives, grounded in history, or, in Ricoeur's language of narrativity, in *mimesis*$_1$, our prenarrative structures.

Understanding identity requires learning something of one's prenarrative structure because it is history that "preserves the relation to the future and the present" (Ricoeur 1988: 121). It is in *mimesis*$_1$, where we learn the order of action, the "always already" of

existence. It is a familiarity with the prior order of action that is the basis for new action, that sustains, in this case, the act of development, because this order sustains the refiguration, a possible new future, the kingdom of "*as if*".

There are three features that present themselves in the prenarrative structure that anchor "intelligibility engendered by emplotment" (Ricoeur 1984: 54). First, what is an actor's competence for action? By using the "conceptual network that structurally distinguishes the domain of action from that of physical movement," we recognize that "actions imply goals...refer to motives...have agents...We also understand that these agents act and suffer in circumstances they did not make...[and that] the outcome of an action may be a change in fortune toward happiness or misfortune" (1984: 54-55). Learning about this network gives us openings to ask questions to discern important aspects of identity.

Second, we seek to understand the norms and ideals of a culture because "[i]f in fact, human action can be narrated, it is because it is always already articulated by signs, rules and norms. It is always already symbolically mediated...[which is] to distinguish among symbols of a cultural nature, the ones that underlie action...thus furnish[ing] a descriptive context for particular actions" (1984: 57, 58). In other words, the norms, ideals and signs "provide the rules of meaning" (1984: 58) so action can be interpreted.

Third, we need to be cognizant of the boundaries created by time, because according to Ricoeur (1984: 59), "[t]he understanding of action [not only includes understanding the conceptual network of action with its symbolic mediation, it]...goes so far as to recognize in action temporal structures that call for narration." We need to know how those we want to understand align with their idea of what happened in the past

because the "'(as yet) untold' stories, stories that demand to be told...offer anchorage points for [future] narrative" (1984: 74).

This perspective on the boundedness of time is supported by scholars and researchers of South India, including what is now Kerala. Rao et al. (2003: 5) write:

> Each community writes history in the mode that is dominant in its own literary practice. By the same token, newly ascendant or powerful cultures may deny history to the communities they seek to dominate, and historicity to their texts. What constitutes history is not a given, in some universal sense, but practices specific to time and place. Such practices may war with one another; in the process, the history of the losers may itself be lost...What is required is a new way of reading.

In other words, when these "(as yet) untold" stories remain untold, we fall into the "tendency of history to celebrate the victors" (Ricoeur 1999: 10). The victims' stories are not known and no new action occurs, i.e., the possibility to imagine a different future.

To reiterate, identity is known through narratives so if I am questioning what its place is in a socioeconomic plan of development, I must listen to people's stories. It is there that identity is revealed. The plot of the narrative, "grounded in the preunderstanding of the world of action" (Ricoeur 1984: 54) gives order to the action and sustains the refiguration, in this case, the act of development.

For me, the reader of this text of other people's prenarrative structure, an important question arises: what is my world in front of the text, or in other words, "what does the text say to me and what do I say to the text" (Ricoeur 1988: 175)? Ricoeur (1984: 64, 71) says that it is the act of reading connected to the capacity of plot (plot, that "opens the kingdom of the *as if*,"), that prolongs and brings to an end "the dynamism belonging to the configuring act." It matters what we bring to the text because it is in the

choices we make that enable us to imagine a future narrative together and helps us all to become who we already are.

I posit that, in part, it is our own prenarrative structure that enables us to act or disables us from acting with those we meet in the world. There is more though: we are bound to act because of our existence in the world. The following section, Care, shows that we in fact already exist oriented toward others and the world, thus disclosing that care is a necessary part of refiguring a new narrative of development.

Care

Accepting Gadamer's (1998: 363) premise that, "the path of all knowledge leads through the question," to refigure a narrative of development I have chosen some questions, including, "[w]hen will we realize that well-being does not come from [focus on economic] growth?" (Rist: 2002: 46). It is by asking questions that challenge the received wisdom and opens the possibility of exploring development in a way that something new might be revealed. In other words, what does development mean?

The idea to ask "what does development mean?" comes in part from my study of Heidegger. In his book, Being and Time, Heidegger (1962) is also concerned with meaning, "the *meaning* of Being" because to not ask is to take "for granted...what [it] signifies" (Mulhall 1996: 7). Because he asks this question, Heidegger is acknowledging there is something new to discover about Being and "[i]t is thus capable of being carried out in various possible ways—superficially or carefully..." (1996: 12). It is my intention that my exploration of socioeconomic development through the lens of tourism in Kerala is the latter.

In order to begin to answer what development means in a careful manner, I

present two concepts essential to understanding and assessing our being-in-the-world based on Heidegger's writing, followed by looking at the concept of care itself.

According to Mulhall (1996: 13, 14), once Heidegger establishes that studying the meaning of Being is a worthy philosophical project and recognizes a "need to choose the right entity or entities to interrogate," he chooses the "unusual term...*Dasein*" to denote "the entity which we are ourselves." If questions about *Dasein's* meaning are to be posed properly, it is also important to "clarify the Being of *Dasein*; it is from our everyday understanding of our own Being that we must attempt to unfold a more profound understanding of the question of the meaning of Being" (1996: 13, 14).

Viewed as a unity itself, the structural whole of *Dasein* has

> ...an overarching tripartite characterization [which] reveals [its] essential unity...[Its] thrownness (exemplified in its openness to states-of-mind) shows it to be already in a world; its projectiveness (exemplified in its capacity for understanding) shows it to be at the same time ahead of itself, aiming to realize some existential possibility; and its fallenness shows it to be preoccupied with the world (1996: 111).

Thus, we are faced with what feels like a confusing, circular and dense explanation of the "being" of our everyday lives, which is likely at least to be one reason why few philosophers before Heidegger asked this question about the meaning of Being and accepted "a vague, average understanding" (1996: 13) of it. And perhaps it is why few are willing to ask similarly about the meaning of development today.

Heidegger, committed to make the meaning of Being his particular philosophical project, was also aware of the "need for a diagnostic element in philosophical criticism" (1996: 31). Mulhall (1996: 32) continues:

> For Heidegger, because *Dasein's* Being is such that its own Being is an issue for it, any given mode of its existence can be assessed in terms of what he calls authenticity or inauthenticity. We can always ask of any

> given individual whether the choices she makes between different possible modes of existence and the way she enacts or lives them out are ones through which she is most truly herself, or rather ones in which she neglects or otherwise fails to be herself.

In Heidegger's (1962: 43) way of thinking, inauthenticity of *Dasein* is not less in terms of "degrees of Being. Rather it is the case that even in its fullest concretion *Dasein* can be characterized by inauthenticity—when busy, when excited, when interested, when ready for enjoyment." In fact, Heidegger finds that, "[t]here must be inauthenticity... so that *Dasein*, thus made aware of its loss of self, *can strive to return to authentic being...* Via the inauthenticity of its being-in-the-world, *Dasein* is compelled to search out the authentic" (Steiner 1989: 98, 99).

The question is: what compels this search of the authentic? At the core of our being is the fact that we exist with others. The nature of this existence with others and our environment is care, the essence of *Dasein*. It is this same care, that is "'the primordial state of being' of *Dasein* as it strives toward authenticity" (Steiner 1989: 101).

Heidegger (1962: 192) writes that the structural whole of *Dasein* "must...be grasped in the following structure: The being of *Dasein* means ahead-of-itself-Being-already-in (the world) as being-alongside (entities encountered within-the-world). This being fills in the signification of the term '*care*'..." Mulhall (1996: 111) explains:

> Heidegger evokes the fact that *Dasein* is always occupied with the entities it encounters in the world—concerned about...entities, and solicitous of other human beings. The point is not that *Dasein* is always caring and concerned, or that failures of sympathy are impossible or to be discouraged; it is rather that, as Being-in-a-world, *Dasein* must *deal* with that world. The world and everything in it is something that cannot fail to matter to it.

Accepting what Heidegger is saying, that the essence of our existence is care, means it is

likely that an exploration of "care...[as] the primordial nature of development" (Herda 2005: 2) will lead to new disclosures about socioeconomic development in Kerala.

Just as *Dasein*, Being-with, is expressed in relation to others and the world, it also is expressed as Being-alone, "a deficient mode of Being-with" (Heidegger 1962: 120). Care is also expressed in two ways, a supportive way for others (as solicitude) and things (as concern) and through indifferent and deficient modes. Heidegger (1962: 121) writes:

> Being for, against, or without one another, passing one another by, not 'mattering' to one another—these are possible ways of solicitude. And it is precisely these last-named deficient and Indifferent modes that characterize everyday, average Being-with-one-another.

Solicitude, according to Heidegger (1962: 122), has two possibilities.

> It can...take away 'care' from the Other and put itself in his position in concern; it can *leap* in for him...In such solicitude the Other can become one who is dominated and dependent, even if this domination is a tacit one and remains hidden from him. This kind of solicitude, which leaps in and takes away 'care,' is to a large extent determinative for Being with one another, and pertains for the most part to our concern for ready-to-hand.

This kind of care is appropriate when taking care of a young child, for example, who has yet to develop self-care skills or is in the process of learning them. It is also evident in the event of natural disasters and wars when relief aid is offered though it is questionable that it is an appropriate response because it "pertains for the most part to our concern for ready-to-hand" (1962: 122).

The second possibility of a kind of solicitude is when

> ...[one] does not so much leap in for the Other as *leap ahead* of him in his existentiell[2] potentiality-for-Being, not in order to take away his 'care' but rather to give it back to him authentically as such for the first time. This kind of solicitude pertains essentially to authentic care—that is, to the existence of the Other, not to a 'what' with which he is concerned; it helps

[2] "The question of existence never gets straightened out except through existing itself. The understanding of oneself which leads *along this way* we call '*existentiell*'" (Heidegger 1962: 33).

> the Other to become transparent *in* his care and to become *free for* it (1962: 122).

The distinction between these two possibilities of solicitude, engaging appropriately in the care of others, is important in a refiguration of a narrative of development that primarily considers development in terms of people and not only of things (Nyerere in Smith 1998/2002: 3). This care, *Sorge*, "is a concern with, a caring for, an answerability to, the presentness and mystery of Being itself, of Being as it transfigures beings" (Steiner 1989: 100). It is this latter sense of solicitude that is appropriate in development activities.

Coming back to the title of Heidegger's book, Being and Time (1962), what is care's relationship to time? Although Heidegger presents "*Dasein's* existence as thrown projection, living a moment that is grounded in previous moments and that in turn grounds moments to come" (Mulhall 1996: 145), "the fundamental time of Care [is] the temporality directed toward the future and toward death" (Ricoeur 1988: 120). Heidegger (1962: 325) writes:

> By the term 'futural', we do not here have in view a 'now' which has not yet become 'actual' and which sometime will be for the first time. We have in view the coming in which *Dasein*, in its ownmost potentiality-for-Being, comes towards itself. Anticipation makes *Dasein* authentically futural...

If care is the essence of *Dasein*, and its fundamental time is toward the future and death, what is its place in a narrative of development? As expressed by Heidegger above, care itself does not help in understanding our temporal location. It is through Ricoeur's (1988: 119, 121) exploration of the trace, which is a "vestige that a human being...has left on the place where it passed," that the relationship between the time of care and ordinary time leads to an appropriation of the "historical character of *Dasein*

...'historical' in the primary sense [that] preserves the relation to the future and the present," where past, present and future are bridged. As Ricoeur (1988: 124) writes, "if we are willing to be guided by the trace, we must be capable of that letting-go, that abnegation that makes care about oneself efface itself before the trace of the other."

When we agree with and follow Heidegger's thinking that "we are immersed in care; it is the ultimate reality of life" (Noddings 1992: 15), it reveals that care has different modes, solicitude and concern, depending on whether our encounter in the world is with people (others as *Dasein*) or as things, "such that their Being can be neither a matter of indifference to them, nor the opposite" (Heidegger 1962: 42). Thus, care has a significant place in a narrative of development as we try to understand our responsibility to be attentive to the Other, when "*Dasein* does not have the kind of Being which belongs to something merely present-at-hand" (1962: 43). This distinction is crucial in development if we wish to orient ourselves toward people not things.

However, this is not easy. Kerr (1996: 63) writes, "[i]t may... call for messy, labor-intensive work and require thoughtful listening by persons who are willing and able to be curious about the lives of others and to make the experiences of others an integral part of their own stories." This requires "the courage to be as a part and the courage to be as oneself" (Tillich 1952: 89-90) as we work to stay in relationship with others and accept the possibility of change in our own identities. The courage to refigure our own narrative is key to understanding that the source of well-being in development is care not economic growth. The supportive modality of care creates necessary courage, which energizes us to address crises that we see in current development practices as practitioners "continue to think within a paradigm that is at its last gasp" (Rist 2002:

246).

Care helps us to stay centered on the common work of development when we listen to the historical narratives of our predecessors and contemporaries in the development act, where "the frontier that separates the historical past from individual memory is porous...If we proceed along this chain of memories, history tends to become a we-relationship" (Ricoeur 1988: 114). As "communities of memory ...[that] tell painful stories of shared suffering that sometimes create deeper identities than success," (Bellah et al. 1996: 155), we establish a we-relationship, knowing *Dasein* as a with-world.

As we listen to the historical narratives from the "succession of generations" (Ricoeur 1988: 109) involved in the act of development, we are in a process of interpreting and bringing meaning to the past so it might be part of the present and future of all the actors. This reflection on the past is essential if we are to uncover what keeps us from becoming who we might, what keeps others from becoming who they might, their ownmost possibility. Care, as the essence of *Dasein*, is central because it motivates us toward this possibility that is most our own. This same care, the always already of the essence of our being is present and awaiting release, to repeat an earlier phrase, as the "primordial nature of development" (Herda 2005: 2), including the development of tourism in Kerala.

Yet, a new question arises: How do we discern whether we are acting responsibly and ethically? The next section covers Habermas' explication of a theory of the differentiation of lifeworld and system which proposes a distinction "between social integration and system integration" in which we gain insight into how our actions might unintentionally be irresponsible because there are "systemic mechanisms that stabilize

nonintended interconnections of action by way of functionally intermeshing action consequences" (Habermas 1987: 150) and thus result in creating negative rather than positive effects in development efforts.

Differentiation of Lifeworld and System

The process of differentiation is foundational to modern understanding. With nature and culture no longer confused, our "basic conceptual differentiation between object domains" changes our "basic attitudes toward worlds" (Habermas 1984: 48, 49). It is in this context that modern thought arises, the possibility of intersubjectivity and the raising of validity claims within linguistic communication. While differentiation has side effects, it is not inherently good or bad, but is a condition of modernity as can be seen in the film "The Sherpa" (Godfry 1983), discussed above in Chapter One, and thus is a condition of development practices as we know them today.

Because of this process of differentiation, "we today proceed from those formal presuppositions of intersubjectivity...to refer to something in the one objective world, identical to all observers, or to something in our intersubjectively shared social world" (Habermas 1984: 50). Differentiation is essential in order to engage in rational discourse that leads to mutual understanding whose "processes...reproduce...an idealized lifeworld...that [has] been largely detached from normative contexts and transferred over to rationally motivated yes/no positions" (Habermas 1987: 145). Differentiation is possible only "to the extent that the constraints of material reproduction no longer hide behind the mask of a rationally impenetrable, basic, normative consensus...behind the authority of the sacred" (1987: 145). Habermas (1987: 152-53) writes,

> ...we view society as an entity that, in the course of social evolution, gets differentiated both as a system and as a lifeworld...in the sense that the

> complexity of the one and the rationality of the other grow. Systemic evolution is measured by the increase in a society's steering capacity, whereas the state of development of a symbolically structured lifeworld is indicated by the separation of culture, society and personality."

In other words, while differentiation occurs so modern thought can arise, to continue to reproduce, a society needs functions that can integrate what has been differentiated out.

The lifeworld is defined as "the transcendental site where speaker and hearer meet, where they can reciprocally raise claims that their utterances fit the world (objective, social or subjective), and where they can criticize and confirm those validity claims, settle their disagreements, and arrive at agreements" (Habermas 1987: 126). In other words, the lifeworld "contributes to the maintenance of individual and social identity by organizing action around shared values, so as to reach agreement over criticizable validity claims" (Ingram 1987: 115).

The lifeworld is further differentiated into two spheres, private and public. According to Ingram (1987: 149), the private sphere

> revolves principally around the institution of the nuclear family, which, having been relieved of its former economic function, is singularly well equipped to handle problems of socialization. Its major contribution to modern society lies in fostering conditions of intimacy and solitude, in which the personal reflection necessary for cultivating strong individual identity can occur independently of economic and political pressures.

The public sphere complements the private sphere in that its

> institutional core...comprises a network of cultural institutions in which public opinion is shaped and social identity is cultivated Its major contribution to modern society is its provision of the conditions of social dialogue necessary for generating the shared values and interests that undergird social integration (1987: 149-150).

Both the private and public spheres are "communicatively structured spheres of action" (Habermas 1987: 319). The private sphere is "characterized by intimacy and hence by

protection from publicity, [and] structure[s] encounters between relatives, friends, acquaintances and so on," while the public sphere "is characterized by open, permeable and shifting horizons...[and is] best described as a network for communicating information and points of view" (Habermas 1998: 354, 360).

Mediating the space between the private and public spheres is civil society which is made up of nongovernmental organizations, voluntary associations and movements and an independent media that, "attuned to how societal problems resonate in the private life spheres, distill and transmit such reactions in amplified form to the public sphere" (1998: 367). Habermas sees a civil society with limitations in what actions it can take, but this is not construed as incapacity to act. Among its limitations it

> can develop only in the context of a liberal political culture...on the basis of an integral private sphere; it can blossom only in an already rationalized lifeworld; [its] actors can acquire only influence, not political power... [and it] can directly transform only itself, and it can have at most an indirect effect on the self-transformation of the political system (1998: 371-372).

These limitations create boundaries and opportunities, for example, for NGOs and their international development work, or in Kerala, for the political movements in its history, something to which Habermas hints in his "insight that movements can be the carriers of the potentials of cultural modernity" (Cohen and Arato in Habermas 1998: 370).

According to Ingram (1987: 115) the distinction between lifeworld and system was "introduced ...to specify spheres of social reproduction (material and symbolic), which in turn designate functions of societal integration (system and social) embedded in different contexts of action (strategic and communicative)." Habermas (1987: 150) elaborates,

> ...we distinguish between social integration and system integration: the former attaches to action orientations, while the latter reaches right through them. In one case the action system is integrated through consensus...in the other case it is integrated through the nonnormative steering of individual decisions not subjectively coordinated.

The system in modern societies "integrates diverse activities in accordance with the adaptive goals of economic and political survival by regulating the unintended consequences of strategic action through market or bureaucratic mechanisms that constrain the scope of voluntary decisions" (1987: 115) by way of "steering media [which] replaces language as the mechanism for coordinating action. Money and power...by *substituting for language*, make possible the differentiation of subsystems of purposive-rational action" (Habermas 1984: 342). An example of money substituting for language can be seen in "The Sherpa" (Godfry 1983) when western money replaces barter in the market.

Habermas (1984: 341) makes the point that by

> ...differentiating rationally regulated action into action oriented to reaching understanding and action oriented to success [we] ...conceive the communicative rationalization of everyday action and formation of subsystems of purposive-rational economic and administrative action as *complementary* developments. Both reflect...the institutional embodiment of rationality complexes; but in other respects they are *counteracting* tendencies.

When we differentiate the structure and function of a lifeworld we are engaging in a rationalization process—coming to an understanding of our world. With rationalization, disturbances do occur in the processes of reproduction but for Enlightenment-oriented theorists, they "shift with the degree of rationalization" while the "counter-Enlightenment...[think these disturbances] can be traced back to the rationalization of the lifeworld itself" (Habermas 1987: 147). Marxists' critics of

"bourgeois society ...accept the rationalization of the lifeworld and explain its deformation by the conditions of material reproduction" (1987: 148).

Habermas (1987: 148) sums up his guiding idea for disturbances in lifeworld reproduction:

> ...on the one hand, the dynamics of development are steered by imperatives issuing from problems of self-maintenance, that is, problems of materially reproducing the lifeworld; but that, on the other hand, this societal development draws upon structural *possibilities* and is subject to structural *limitations* that, with the rationalization of the lifeworld, undergo systematic change in dependence upon corresponding learning processes...the rationalization of the lifeworld leads to a directional variation of the structural patterns defining the maintenance of the system.

In other words, Habermas sees that disturbances result from various problems and limitations between the structure of the lifeworld and the functioning of its subsystems.

One disturbance in the rationalization process is termed "colonization of the lifeworld" by the system where "domains of action that fulfill economic and political functions... [are] converted over to steering media," which can happen in instances of material reproduction, "when the destruction of traditional forms of life can no longer be offset by more effectively fulfilling the functions of a society as a whole (Habermas 1987: 322). Ingram (1987: 150) explains:

> As vehicles of socialization and social integration par excellences, households and local communities have surrendered whatever economic and administrative functions they may have had in the days when they were self-sufficient to formally organized subsystems of business and state, while remaining related to them.

According to Habermas (1987: 321), viewed historically, this process of "monetarization and bureaucratization...is by no means a painless process; its price is the destruction of traditional forms of life." It is not however as a result of the rationalization process per se (which has positive benefits as well, i.e., greater effectiveness and integration capabilities

to fulfill material reproduction tasks) that the colonization takes place; rather, it has to do with "an overextension of the economy...[and] of public administration" (Ingram 1987: 151) "of everyday practices both in the private and public spheres" (Habermas 1987: 325). Habermas (1987: 322) elaborates:

> The functional ties of money and power media become noticeable only to the degree that elements of a private way of life and a cultural-political form of life get split off from the symbolic structures of the lifeworld through the monetary redefinition of goals, relations and services, life-spaces and life-times, and through the bureaucratization of decisions, duties and rights, responsibilities and dependencies.

It is this "extension of the economy and public administration into consensually integrated areas of life...[that is the] genesis...of contemporary loss of meaning and freedom" (Ingram 1987: 149). In other words, seeking to refigure a narrative of development requires that we resist the pull toward a solely economic and publicly administered approach and find ways to connect elements of the private sphere that sustain meaningful symbolic structures which in and of itself is extremely difficult to do.

The above represents some of Habermas' key underlying concepts so that lifeworld and system "may be understood as an attempt to develop a bi-level conception of society" (Ingram 1987: 104), in other words, to provide social theory with "a concept of society as a system that has to fulfill conditions for the maintenance of sociocultural lifeworlds (Habermas 1987: 152).

Grasping these formal concepts of lifeworld and system together is fundamental in social theory from a Habermasian perspective. They account for both types of rationally regulated action (communicative and strategic) and for language and other steering media as coordinators of action. Using these theoretical constructs gives necessary analytical power to assess what is going on between a lifeworld and its

systems, and leads to asking in the development arena, how might two societies, at different stages of social evolution interact?

As was claimed earlier, how we interact with others is based in a lifeworld with our own prenarrative structure that enables us to act or disables us from acting with those we meet in the world. How do we discern whether we are acting responsibly and ethically? Habermas' (1987: 153) theory of the uncoupling of system and lifeworld based on the growth of "complexity of the one and the rationality of the other," gives insight into how we might unintentionally act irresponsibly, disregard the identity of the other, and create negative effects when we intend positive ones in development efforts.

Taking the theory further, as societies evolve and grow, differentiation, or, as referred to above, an uncoupling of system and lifeworld occurs to keep pace with the growing complexity of interactions. Sociologists have analyzed this process of differentiation into "stages of social evolution as tribal societies, traditional societies or societies organized around a state, and modern societies...these stages are marked by the appearance of new systemic mechanisms and corresponding level of complexity" (1987: 153-54). As this process continues, the systemic mechanisms become more and more detached from the social structures until "modern societies attain a level of system differentiation at which increasingly autonomous organizations are connected...via delinguistified media of communication...for example, money—steer a social intercourse...largely disconnected from norms and values" (Habermas 1987: 154). These system mechanisms must be anchored in the lifeworld, because "the lifeworld remains the subsystem that defines the pattern of the social system as a whole" (1987: 154); institutions, residing in the lifeworld, are created to keep them connected.

Two points about this process of evolution are pertinent to my present interests:

> In societies with a low degree of differentiation, systemic interconnections are tightly interwoven with mechanisms of social integration; in modern societies they are consolidated and objectified into norm-free structures.
>
> New levels of system differentiation can establish themselves only if the rationalization of the lifeworld has reached a corresponding level (1987: 154, 179).

South Indian scholars and researchers Rao et al. (2003) would agree with this assessment and imply that one implication of cultures at different stages of evolution is that they lack a common context to interpret history and action. This leads us to

> confus[e] our own judgments about what is probable, rational or intelligible with those internal to another culture's system of conceptual modes, marked by its own internal criteria for differentiating...These criteria are almost always far more powerful and pervasive than our preconceptions (2003: 260).

Another effect of this evolutionary process toward modernity is that in subsystems steered by delinguistified media (like money), while anchored in the lifeworld by institutions, the actions coordinated are transferred

> from language over to steering media [and] means an uncoupling of interaction from lifeworld contexts. [By] *bypassing* processes of consensus-oriented communication...the transfer of action over to steering media appears from the lifeworld perspective both as reducing the costs and risks of communication...and thus, in this sense, as a *technicizing* of the lifeworld (Habermas 1987: 183).

There are exceptions to this, however: when "trust in the possession of knowledge" is involved:

> ...whether cognitive-instrumental, moral-practical or aesthetic-practical [this] cannot have the same effect. Where reputation or moral authority enter in, action coordination has to be brought about by means of resources familiar from consensus formation in language. Media of this kind cannot uncouple interaction from the lifeworld context of shared cultural knowledge, valid norms and accountable motivations, because

> they have to make use of the resources of consensus formation in language (1987: 183).

This means that specialized cognitive matters, like science oriented matters, can be properly mediated "only insofar as cultural values spheres...have been differentiated out, making it possible to treat the cognitive tradition exclusively under the validity aspect of truth" (Habermas 1987: 184). Where the cognitive matter and value sphere are aligned, "communicative action can be steered through specialized influence, through such media as professional reputation and value commitment" but only to the extent that they are "already embedded in a virtually present web of communicative contents far removed in space and time but accessible in principle" (1987: 184).

One implication of this process of evolution from a development perspective is that the prenarrative structures of people interacting from cultures at different stages of uncoupling will likely each have a different sense of reality and a different way of expressing it. This different sense of reality will affect significantly the two actors' ability to communicate with one another, and, in the process, conceal from each other their orientations to the world. This leads to unintentional results, with the agents acting and suffering in circumstances they did not make (Ricoeur 1984: 54) and is part of explaining why, as has been said previously, "*'development'...is itself actually a problem (as well as creating problems)*" (Rist 2002: 46), and why a new orientation toward it is needed.

Summary

I have said throughout this chapter that my intent is to refigure a narrative of development, where "we realize that well-being does not come from [economic] growth" (Rist 2002: 46), but that the source of well-being is grounded in care, the essence of our

being and ownmost possibility. In order to refigure a narrative however we must understand the complexity of our situatedness in a communicative lifeworld, uncoupled from a system oriented toward different, delinguistified media of money and power.

This said, tourism as a focus of study offers a rich field in which critical hermeneutic theories can help to appropriate a new orientation toward socioeconomic development because by tourism's nature we all as "others" come face to face with an other. By weaving together the study of care with narrative identity and an understanding of lifeworld and system, new possibilities are opened for exploring culture, tradition, identity, modernity and action together. As a result, I hope to be able to disclose how tourism in Kerala offers a medium for people to participate in refiguring and claiming their identities, creating well-being grounded in care. It is through this approach to research, participatory hermeneutic inquiry, to which I turn next, to examine why it offers a path toward creating tourism of a different kind in God's own country, Kerala.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH PROCESS

Introduction

Participatory inquiry in a critical hermeneutic tradition offers a different stance toward research. As Herda (1999: 93) writes, "[i]t is not so much a matter of *doing* hermeneutic participatory research as it is a way of *being* a researcher." This way of being a researcher offers an engagement with the topic from within life, not from an illusory position of neutrality outside of it (Herda 2004). What participatory hermeneutic inquiry offers is an ontological orientation, opening up the epistemological maze in which much of research is caught. Hermeneutic participatory inquiry offers a way to engage a mystery rather than to be stuck in a problem/solution frame of mind.

Although participatory hermeneutic inquiry orients one toward being a researcher which opens up possibilities within life, there are guidelines that a researcher follows. These guidelines are intended to open the researcher's world of understanding in such a way as to be similar to what Gadamer's (1998: 383) says about conversation,

> ...A genuine conversation is never the one that we wanted to conduct... the conversation [takes] its own twists and [reaches] its own conclusion... the partners conversing are far less the leaders of it than the led. No one knows in advance what will "come out" of a conversation. Understanding or its failure is like an event that happens to us. Thus we can say that something was a good conversation or that it was ill fated. All this shows that a conversation has a spirit of its own, and that the language in which it is conducted bears its own truth within it—i.e., that it allows something to 'emerge' which henceforth exists.

My research on appropriating a different stance toward socioeconomic development through tourism of a different kind in Kerala has emerged through any number of twists and turns, not only during this recent research process but, in fact, over much my lifetime. Understanding this emergence has come as many events happening to me—in

the initial proposal process, in conversation with research participants, in reflection in my journal, in processing the transcriptions of conversations, and most significantly, in the writing and editing of this dissertation. This document exists as testimony to the spirit that conversation nurtures and sustains.

Chapter Four proceeds with a theoretical framework of participatory hermeneutic inquiry and anthropological foundation upon which my research rests. The research protocol section identifies key steps in the process that guided my research, including a summary of the pilot study that I conducted in Fall 2002. I conclude this chapter with some remarks about my background and revisit what has motivated my interest in my research topic and some of the important perspectives that accompanied me throughout the research.

Theoretical Framework

One of the joys and sometimes one of the frustrations of studying and researching from within a critical hermeneutic perspective is that there is no one right answer when one is configuring a narrative. This is not to say that critical hermeneutics is relativistic, as it is often accused of being. We learn from Habermas (1984: 25) that when we engage in communicative action, oriented to reach understanding, the "force of a better argument" prevails. We learn from Ricoeur (1992: 115) that narratives are never "ethically neutral" and that because they can be "[told] otherwise...letting others tell their own history" (Ricoeur 1999: 9), there is truth to be found in them. What is required if one is to conduct research from this orientation is an inquiring and discerning nature, one which is open to imagination and as Kearney (2002: 83) calls it, a "hermeneutic of critical suspicion" to be on guard against the fact that "narrative remembrance...is not

always on the side of angels." Thus, research done within this orientation requires "recognition that language is a critical medium for any meaningful social change" (Herda 1999: 7). Participatory hermeneutic inquiry requires that a researcher recognize she is "summoned" to this orientation (1999: 9). In my case, that summons is clear and inviting, as I acknowledge there was not and will never be, as a Cartesian thinker believes, one right answer, yet, when we are oriented to reach a new understanding, we can search cooperatively for truth (Habermas 1984: 25). The hope of the possibility to discover truth together in the research process colors and motivates my work herein.

The next two sections give brief overviews of some theory in participatory hermeneutic inquiry and the anthropological tradition in which my research is situated.

The Poetic Gaze of Critical Hermeneutic Participatory Research

What Time Is Made From
Denise Levertov (1996: 120)

The hand that inscribed Genesis left out
the creation of Time. Dividing
darkness from light, God paused to reach
into the substance of Eternity,
teased out a strand of it,
and wound its arabesques throughout
the workshop of creation, looping it through
the arches of newmade days and nights,
pulling and stretching each of them into aeons.
Our own lifetimes and centuries
were formed from leftover
bits and pieces, frayed
ends of God's ribbons, rags
from the Eternal scrapbag.

This poem gave me a completely different orientation toward my research: first, as a researcher in critical hermeneutic participatory inquiry, the poem reminds me that

life, like time, cannot be "resolved" in the theoretical sense of the word, but as Ricoeur (1984: 6) says, only in its poetic sense. He writes:

> A constant thesis of this book [Time and Narrative] will be that speculation on time is an inconclusive rumination to which narrative activity alone can respond. Not that this activity solves the aporias through substitution. If it does resolve them, it is in a poetical and not a theoretical sense of the word.

"Resolve" moves from the concrete, positivist sense that seems so often to rule in research to something altogether different—a poetic sense, thus allowing for an opening to see time not as a linear entity but as a "zone of awareness." This zone of awareness is in us, in our souls, according to Augustine, and that it is our experience, "articulated by language and enlightened by the intelligence" and is able to "hold firm against the onslaughts of skepticism" (1984: 9) as we engage the paradox of the being and non-being of time. By resolving this being and non-being poetically through the threefold present: the present of the past, the present of the present and the present of the future, we are led to trust our experience and the "impressions [that] remain after the thing itself has ceased to be. It is the impression that I measure, since it is present, not the thing itself, which makes the impression as it passes" (Augustine in Ricoeur 1984: 18). Thus, it is the "passivity of the impression...contrasted with the activity of the mind stretched in opposite directions, between expectation, memory and attention" (1984: 18) that are a part of our seeing "the substance of Eternity...in the arches of newmade days and nights" (Levertov 1996: 120).

What does a poetic sense of time have to do with participatory hermeneutic research? I believe that this shift regarding time is applied to my orientation to the topic at hand in my research conversations. The shift in my sense of time moved me from a

position of needing to know to allowing my imagination to be engaged so to *grasp* something at a much deeper level because I moved attentively between memory and expectation. It changed the way I listened. Again, Ricoeur (1984: 18) offers insight on this: "[o]nly a mind stretched in such different directions can be distended." The point for me is that though I did not expect to "resolve" the question of time in research what I was offered through this poetic resolution was to be stretched to discover new possibilities. I confirmed that as a researcher in a hermeneutic orientation, discovering new possibilities is a fundamental reason for doing research.

Another important reason why a poetic gaze is important in participatory hermeneutic inquiry has been my ability to express what I found as a researcher as I moved away from an epistemological, problem solving stance to one in which I encountered mystery. Ricoeur (1995a: 44-45) explains:

> Scientific language has no real function of communication or interpersonal dialogue. It is important therefore that we preserve the rights of ordinary language where the communication of experience is of primary significance. But my criticism of ordinary language philosophy is that it does not take into account the fact that language itself is a place of prejudice and bias. Therefore, we need a third dimension of language, a critical and creative dimension, which is directed towards neither scientific verification nor ordinary communication but towards the disclosure of possible worlds. This third dimension of language I call the poetic. The adequate self-understanding of man is dependent on this third dimension of language as a *disclosure of possibility.*

My intention with this research was to examine issues of tourism as a socioeconomic scheme of development in a poetic language that is unfamiliar in received traditions. As a result, I listened intently to stories I was told, knowing that they were the richest source of data for understanding who the Keralites are and who they hope to be.

If a poetic dimension of language reveals self-understanding, then the issue of identity is integral to research, including my own, the identity of the researcher. It is realizing that as the author of this text I had to be willing to be changed, while also being a participant in the conversation. This means that my identity has oscillated between my sense of *idem*, sameness, which "claims not to change in spite of the course of time and in spite of the change of events around [me] and within [me]" and *ipse*, selfhood, which demonstrates "a kind of flexibility, or a kind of dual identity...[which] is a way of dealing with change, not denying it" (Ricoeur 1999: 8).

The implication is that I had to be willing to be different in the research interactions, not as an expert but as a learner which, at times, caused a great deal of anxiety and tension. As Herda (1999: 87) writes, "[t]he researcher's orientation toward the research event as a whole gives opportunity for one to become a different person than before the research took place." And this was an ongoing process throughout the research: "It is in conversation and in the creation of texts that we can open and examine our histories and decide what about them we need today and what we would be better without" (1999: 91). By my willingness to share my story with my research participants—and by seeking out each other's narrative through our questions—my research participants and I were able to imagine new possibilities through the conversations that gave us some new perspectives on identity formation. This process continues and deepens beyond the conversations as the work moved into the data processing and analysis phases. Again, Herda (1999: 86, 93, 88) writes,

> ...in hermeneutic field-based research the focus is on our distanciation from and appropriation of the text...[In the research process] data collection (and their subsequent transcription) and analysis [are the acts of] distanciation and appropriation.

> In short, we distance ourselves from our initial research conversations when transcriptions are made. We appropriate new possible worlds from readings of a text.

I offer another poem, that illustrates some of what I have come to understand is the awesome experience of being a researcher in this orientation, where we are not only the author but in the process of writing, also a reader, one who imagines new possible worlds in *mimesis*$_3$, the world in front of the text. It is another poem of Denise Levertov (1996: 99-100). Reading this poem throughout the research process gave me courage and hope to continue.

Writer and Reader

When a poem has come to me,
almost complete as it makes its way
into daylight, out through arm, hand,
pen,
onto page; or needing
draft after draft, the increments
of change toward itself, what's missing
brought to it, grafted
into it, trammels of excess
peeled away till it can breathe
and leave me—
then I feel awe at being
chosen for the task
again; and delight, and the strange and
familiar
sense of destiny.
But when I read or hear
a perfect poem, brought into being
by someone else, someone perhaps
I've never heard of before—a poem
bringing me pristine visions, music
beyond what I thought I could hear,
a stirring, a leaping
of new anguish, of new hope, a poem
trembling with its own
vital power—
then I'm caught up beyond
that isolate awe, that narrow delight,
into what singers must feel in a great
choir,
each with humility and zest partaking
of harmonies they combine to make,
waves and ripples of music's ocean,
who hush to listen when the aria
arches above them in halcyon stillness.

Thus, from the intentions of expectation, attention and memory in the threefold present, "...to this enigma of the speculation on time that the poetic act of emplotment relies... [t]he entire province of narrative is laid out here in its potentiality, from the simple poem, to the story of an entire life, to universal history" (Ricoeur 1984: 21-22). I continue to

feel lucky to have had this opportunity to participate in research that offers such a rich path, one in which I have felt encouraged to live into mystery rather than trying merely to solve a problem.

The Practice of Interpretive Anthropology

Introduction

The above section offers my reflection on the philosophy that underlies the research that I did. This section offers a glimpse of how the philosophy was put into action.

What is culture that we want to understand it? Because we are reflective beings, we study to make sense of our world and our place in it. In narrative, we anticipate this place and our personhood (identity). Our identity is in part created by our context and our relationships with others. Our identity discloses traditions, embraces the kingdom of "*as if*" and is understood today. Living out our identity is culture.

The above statement was developed collectively by the students and professor in the Fall 2002 class, Anthropological Research. It resulted from a conversation on individual responses to the above question. As other social acts, it required the participation of individuals, interacting with a text and responding through agreement that this in fact is a collective view. It was a great learning experience for all of us.

This view of culture is not static nor is it a view that would have been shared by all anthropologists upon whom this field of study rests. We are beneficiaries of their wisdom and courage in a discipline that is ever changing based on its practitioners, their interests, the road blocks they encounter and the controversies they engage. Each school

of thought has brought value and insight to our study of human action, even when they failed to communicate with each other. Our ability to emplot a new view of culture is,

> ...constituted within [this] history that has all the characteristics of a tradition. Let us understand by this term not the inert transmission of some already dead deposit of material but the living transmission of an innovation always capable of being reactivated by a return to the most creative moments of poetic activity...In fact, tradition is constituted by the interplay of innovation and sedimentation. (Ricoeur 1984: 68).

As part of my preparation to conduct research in a participatory hermeneutic orientation, I followed a winding path through the early anthropological traditions, including the American and British schools and how the Indian school evolved in relation to them. I learned that indeed it is in the interplay of innovation and sedimentation in the field of anthropology that moved it from a purely scientific view to a view where one engages questions of language and meaning, questions that open the door for critical hermeneutics. Below, through the analysis of one interpretive anthropologist's work, I offer some thoughts regarding how critical hermeneutics leads to the asking of new questions in anthropology.

Critical Hermeneutics in Anthropology

A good example of the use of critical hermeneutics in anthropological writing is in Les Gottesman's book *To Fight and Learn* (1998). Gottesman practices as an interpretive anthropologist by, "approach[ing] culture based on the metaphor of culture as text and anthropological inquiry as the interpretation of text" (Moore 1997: 238). Engaged in philosophical and critical hermeneutics, his data are based in language and historical placement and how this history influences who the participants in the study have become today. He has created a living text that is open to be interpreted by every new reader. Events are inscribed in the text but have a life of their own; they are not

closed in upon themselves. This text in front of us, the world it opens for us, "is the progenitor for social action and for engaging in the changing of society" (Herda 2004).

Gottesman's research process includes the analysis of four different kinds of text: transcripts from conversation with 38 people (the conversations focused on eliciting narratives of the individuals' past and present educational experiences and on the possible future effects of education), "notebooks of personal reflections on these conversations and of general observations on Eritrean society," official and unofficial documents on education obtained from various Eritreans and memories from his visit in Eritrea from February to April 1993 (Gottesman 1998: 4, 9). He follows a process "characterized by Robert N. Bellah as action-reflection-universality" which sees social science as "a moral ...[and] cognitive enterprise and that the relations between the social scientist and those who are studied must be moral rather than manipulative"(1998: 4). In other words, the researcher is part of the research rather than claiming he/she can be neutral.

The kind of social change documented in this book would not have been possible without constant negotiation between the traditions of the peasants and ideas of modernization and "educational practices and discourses are key sites where...[these] social forces interact" (1998: 32). The teenage literacy teachers "had to compel the participation of each community, sometimes of each individual, in the classes, through their rhetoric" (1998: 184), which demonstrates "an interweaving of discourse and action...yielding a holistic space of expressive intentionality" (Schrag 1986: 31). With Habermas' validity claims as a framework, Gottesman (1998: 186) shows that "a young teacher gain[s] unique power over the practical consciousness of the community or cause[s] accepted interpretive schemes to be evaluated anew." By demonstrating

communicative competence, the teachers "advance their projects of mass literacy, social change and national liberation...The campaign exemplifie[s] a model of collaborative learning that at its heart is a fusion of cultural horizons, with positive educational, social and political effects" (1998: 254). This narrative shows that "educational policies which are based on or incorporate customary social practices and traditional knowledge and thought are the most effective in bringing about changes in social practices" (1998: 9).

By engaging a different orientation with his subject than traditional anthropologists would, Gottesman is able to avoid the "circularity and triviality caused by the scientific paradigm" (Herda 2004). By asking different questions, the nature of the data changes, to move beyond the traps of earlier anthropological traditions. What he is interested in as an interpretive anthropologist is social action, language, imagination and the always already sense of history. This orientation "brings with it an openness to new possibilities that is the precondition of genuine understanding" (Linge 1976: xxi). This understanding then "applies new meaning to the current situation...thereby revealing new possibilities for action" (Ingram 1987: 9). In other words, interpretative anthropology goes beyond the descriptive nature of a traditional anthropological approach, allowing for the possibility of transformation that is not fixed in a particular time or space. It gives us authority over the text to act on it rather than the text acting on us. We, the researcher and participants, have authority to grasp possible new worlds.

Grasping Possible New Worlds

With this particular prenarrative structure before me, it was with awe and humility that I approached the task of doing research from an interpretive anthropological perspective. By studying the particular anthropologists I did, I recognized a deep

tradition, steeped in a desire to understand and respect others. It is this tradition upon which my work was done. There was also opportunity for innovation because there is not a "strait jacket" of methodology or of conceptual understandings that prevented a new appropriation of socioeconomic development. I think Verrier Elwin (1964: 141) has an important insight that is pertinent in relation to the tradition and innovation of anthropology: anthropology is indeed "a very big subject" and has room in it for people who have different backgrounds and areas of expertise. There is certainly no longer only a scientistic approach to anthropological research that created road blocks for early anthropologists but a multitude of ways to think about issues, what Geertz (2000: 7) calls "blurred genres," which is his term for "what is really going on out there where men and women are thinking about things and writing down what it is they think." This thinking reaches outside of science, asking different questions that lead us toward ethics, of knowing that we only really know ourselves in relationship with others and that we have the responsibility of "aiming for the good life, for and with others in just institutions" (Ricoeur 1992).

Knowing ourselves only in relation to others is an essential stance in critical hermeneutic research. Herda (2002: 92) writes, "[w]ho we are and who we become in our research is as important as what we might find out." Indeed, there were moments in the research when I was amazed with who I saw myself becoming, not only from my own perspective but also reflected back to me from my research participants. It was important to hold onto these moments as I wrote this dissertation so I could do justice to all of the people who put their trust in me. I was constantly reminded as I read the transcripts and

analyzed the data that I was no longer in my own personal, academic world but that writing this dissertation is a public act, making me part of a community.

As a public act, I had to remember that a reason why my research participants told me their stories was that they hoped that by doing so, eventually, tourism of a different kind would bring authentic, sustainable development to Kerala. They welcomed my work into their world, putting a measure of their hope for the future in my hands. It is an awesome responsibility to be entrusted with such hope. In grasping this possible new world with them in this experience of research, I glimpsed something important about development that I explore in depth in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

Research Protocol

This section identifies the key steps in the process used to conduct the research from a participatory hermeneutic perspective (Herda 1999). Essential steps of carrying out a review of literature and developing a theoretical framework have already been presented in this dissertation. I now cover the following additional steps: my entrée to my research site of Kerala, the categories I used for analysis, the questions that guided the conversations with research participants, how participants were selected and invited to participate, an explanation of data collection and text creation, the analysis process and a summary of the pilot that I conducted in the Fall of 2002.

Entrée to Research Site

From my first class in Spring, 1999 when I began my Master's studies in this program, I chose to study India. From that time until now, whenever there was an assignment to select a country for a course's study, I continued to choose India.

I was first interested in India in the late 1980s when an elderly British woman regaled my friends and me with stories of her days as a missionary and teacher there (Millington 2003). But, I must admit, I was never sure that I would find myself going there, particularly, when through my studies, I found that India has a record of development that is the envy of some developing countries, i.e., the high technology industry of Bangalore.

In the summer of 2003 I discovered Kerala and its development puzzle. I began to believe that I would go but had no idea how I would find a site at which to work. How would I meet any people willing to talk with me about issues of identity? In other words, how would I get started?

I expressed my concerns to my academic advisor and as always, her suggestion was exactly what I needed to hear: she said, "go to Kerala, even if it is just as a tourist." After a number of attempts and the passage of several months in which I tried to figure out how I might do just that, I had another prescient conversation, this time, with a brother-in-law. His advice to me: "just go to Kerala and let Kerala come to you." With another message that encouraged me to allow the adventure to unfold, I finally connected with a travel agent in India and within a matter of days I had a plan to go to Kerala for two weeks in January 2004, accompanied by one of my adult nieces.

The trip proved to be exactly what I needed and in the midst of it, I discovered that I wanted my topic to include tourism. As a result, I returned to Kerala building on the contacts that I made in January and others which developed subsequently. I conducted research in Trivandrum (*Thiruvanathapuram*), the capital of Kerala, Cochin (*Kochi*), a coastal town, in Calicut in *Kozhikode* district and in Kalpetta in the Wayanad

district where the M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation (MSSRF) has their office in Kerala. I also traveled to Chennai in Tamil Nadu on India's southeast coast where MSSRF has its main office and was invited to participate in a two-day symposium the foundation sponsored entitled "National Consultation on Job Led Economic Growth: Towards an Era of Sustainable Self Help Revolution." I also had wonderful interactions and experiences across northern India as a participant on a spiritual pilgrimage which included not only a visit to Varanasi, Hinduism's holiest city but also a visit to Dharamsala, the home of the Tibetan government in exile. Though most of my data come from my research participants in Kerala, my world in front of the text is influenced by this latter part of my trip and is thus of great importance to the creation of this text.

There are two important lessons learned regarding entrée to the research site. One is the blessing of a contact person who takes an unexpected interest in the research. He/she acts as a gatekeeper, in the best sense of the word, opening doors of possibility in the research. With two of the people it was an indication of a kind of hospitality that is part of Indian culture. With the third person, it was because he had time, resources and a willingness to help because he is a friend of a friend.

I was fortunate to have these three hospitable people: in Trivandrum, Mr. Joseph Oommen who, though in one of his busiest weeks, still found time to introduce me to two important governmental officials who were both willing and interested in speaking with me. The second, Alphonse Chandra Kumar, my contact with MSSRF, who also was my travel companion for eight days, introduced me to Dr. Anil Kumar of MSSRF's Kerala office. It was Dr. Anil Kumar who took a personal interest in my research, organizing a day long meeting in Calicut with local people interested in bringing tourism to the area.

The third, Dr. Stephen Commins with the World Bank, found time to source several good contacts, one of whom, Dr. Nata Duvvury, turned out to be the most rewarding conversation of the entire research period. Thus, while each of the three was on my original list of research participants and I had conversations with them, the more important role they played related to the overall quality of data collected.

The second important lesson learned is that persistence and care is required in creating a path for the data to follow. While I was blessed to have the three people mentioned above, I had to make sure that I was prepared for each conversation and followed up with each person, thanking them for their participation and getting their permission to use the data collected. This often required several contacts with them before approval was received. So, while the initial entrée was relatively straightforward, it depended more on the credibility of my contact person. Once entrée was obtained, I was responsible for the remaining process of contact and that created my own credibility with the individual research participants.

This same persistence and care was necessary in developing my own contacts, something I did when I was invited to the World Tourism Organization's Tourism Policy Forum in Washington DC. Even though I had no previous contact with the organization, through email I was able to reach a key individual involved with the forum, set up an appointment with him and present my credentials to him. This meeting and attending the Forum were fruitful experiences even though not in the ways in which I anticipated. As Steve Commins commented to me early on, it is important to be open to whatever comes our way in the process of research, particularly the unexpected. The research really begins to take on a life of its own when there is an opening for it to breathe.

Categories

My initial categories, all of which are from my studies in critical hermeneutics, were: narrative identity, the differentiation of system and lifeworld, and liminality. They represented my interest and experience related to the research before the second trip to Kerala, and established some boundaries for the research itself. They were used to design the research questions and to identify preliminary themes and two of the three are part of the overall analysis. However, as I processed the data, it became clear that one category, liminality, was ill suited for further analytical purposes. Though it is a concept that is rich with meaning and one which will likely continue to appear in my work, it was not useful in demarcating a boundary for analysis of the data collected.

Replacing liminality as a category is the concept of care as understood in Heidegger (1962, 1997) and Ricoeur (1988). This category arose during the process of transcription of the conversations from audio tape to text. I discovered that much of what was discussed came down to an issue of care, whether it be care for others and things or lack thereof for both. Using care as my third category gave me the opportunity to explore the notion that "care constitutes the primordial nature of development" (Herda 2005: 2) and opens the door for a newly configured narrative of development.

Questions

Gadamer (1998: 363) writes, "the path of all knowledge leads through the question...Posing a question implies openness but also limitation." It is the nature of hermeneutic experience to grasp the importance of the question.

The questions for engaging in conversations with my research participants are below. These questions provided a framework for all of my conversations.

Although the best conversations typically take on a life of their own, having questions ahead of time alleviated any discomfort that I or the research participants had. This gave both of us an opportunity to prepare for the conversation, reinforcing that we participated together in the development of knowledge that arose out of the interaction. This encouraged ownership and commitment to the research and led to other participants. In some appointments, I was advised to shorten the number of questions due to time and/or the person I was meeting.

Below are my questions.

- Have you traveled to other parts of the world [country]? [If yes] What is the value to you as a person and traveler to visit these places? How are you the same/different as a result of these travels? Tell me a story of a trip that you took that includes a wonderful experience and a difficult one.

- What do you see is the value of people visiting [Kerala]? Why? What are the social/economic/cultural costs of increasing tourism [in Kerala]? Are these costs worth it? What are the new opportunities? What is lost?

- How is work in tourism viewed by people [in Kerala]? What personal needs does it fulfill? What community needs does it fulfill? What education does one receive to work in this field? What education is lacking?

- How are you/the community the same/different as a result of this emphasis on tourism? What has been positive/difficult about working in it? What has been positive/difficult about so many people discovering [Kerala]?

- How would you imagine changing the circumstances [industry/state regulations] so tourism does not adversely affect the beauty/eco-diversity/people of [Kerala]?

Identification and Invitation of Research Participants

Identification of Research Participants

Research participants were drawn from the following groups: 1) people who work within the development field at an international level; 2) researchers/academics who have studied/conduct development practices in Kerala and/or India; 3) tourism

professionals who live and/or work in India; 4) Kerala state officials who have interest in the development of tourism in their state; 5) Involved citizens of the Malabar coast region of Kerala (Kozhikode and Wayanad districts) with an interest in developing tourism in their region. In Appendix Five is the final list of research participants and short biographies of each. Below, in Table Two, are the research participants.

Name	Title	Organization
Government Officials	*In Kerala*	
T. Balakrishnan	Secretary to Ministry of Tourism	Government of Kerala Secretariat Trivandrum, Kerala
T. M. Thomas Isaac PhD	Member—Communist Party of India—Marxist (Left Democratic Front coalition)	Kerala Legislative Assembly Trivandrum, Kerala
Joseph Oommen	Additional Private Secretary Ministry of Labour and Rehabilitation	Government of Kerala Secretariat Trivandrum, Kerala
Tourism Professionals	*Trivandrum, Cochin, Delhi*	
Sasikala Devidas	Dance Leader of Traditional Kathakali Dance Troupe	Cochin Cultural Centre Cochin Kerala
Joshi P. George	Tour Operator	Associated with Namaste Tours. In Cochin, Kerala
Ajai Kumar K.S.	Tour Guide	Working independently in Trivandrum, Kerala
Rajeev Parameswaran	Director—Operations	Namaste Tours Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, India
Ms. Brigitte Revelli	Puppeteer; Former Kathakali Dancer	Works independently Trivandrum, Kerala
Mr. Benny Thomas	Managing Director	Vacation India in Trivandrum, Kerala
Meeting Attendees	*In Calicut*	
K.V. Divakaran	Farmer/Secretary	Wayanad Agriculture Rural Development Association Kalpetta Kerala; Associated with M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation
A. M. Abdul Kareem	Managing Director	Jungle Park Resorts Kozhikode (Calicut) Kerala

K.S. Kenkitachalam	Retired	State Bank of India
Alphonse Chandra Kumar	Manager, Community Banking	M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation, Chennai, Tamil Nadu
N. Anil Kumar PhD	Programme Director—Community Agro-Biodiversity Centre	M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation—Kalpetta, Wayanad, Kerala
K. S. Manilal PhD	Emeritus Professor/Chairman	Centre for Research in Indigenous Knowledge, Science and Culture Calicut Kerala
Prasanth A. K.	Chief Architect Consultant to Government of India/UNDP for sustainable development and policy making for tourism's potential	Prasanth & Associates Calicut, Kerala
Development Practitioners	*In Washington DC*	
Stephen Commins PhD	Senior Human Development Specialist Adjunct Professor/Lecturer	World Bank Washington, D.C. Elliott School of International Affairs—The George Washington University and School of Public Affairs—UCLA
Nata Duvvury PhD	Director—Gender, Violence and Rights	International Centre for Research on Women—Washington DC
Inder Sud PhD	Professorial Lecturer in International Affairs	Elliott School of International Affairs The George Washington University—Washington DC

Table Two: Research Participants

Formal and Informal Participants

There are two types of participants, formal and informal. As Herda (1999: 97) writes, "[i]n each project there will be formal participants invited to participate... However, there may also be informal conversations carried out with people who are not

part of formal arrangements." While I had a number of encounters with informal participants during this research, there was one that was significant: Brigitte Revelli, a former Kathakali dancer now puppeteer. From Ms. Revelli I received new and pertinent data that would otherwise not have been available to me. The lesson learned however is to be prepared always for a conversation and to not hesitate to ask to record conversations; notes alone do not give as much power to the data as recording them does.

Invitation to Formal Participants

I left on my research trip in July 2004 having assurances from my three contacts who became gatekeepers that they were willing to help with my research. I also arranged dates upon which I would meet several people in the tourism industry in Kerala, though no set appointments were made until I was present in the city or town. Each of these people received a formal invitation and a list of questions intended to guide our conversation (in Appendix Two). Most of the people were in Kerala, while one was in Delhi. I also met with people in the United States after my trip to India, in September and October. Once each conversation was scheduled, I confirmed with each participant the nature of the meeting, about what we would talk and how it would be documented (in Appendix Three). Each person involved with the research did so voluntarily. With the exception of the two governmental officials and the group meeting in Calicut, all gave their written consent (in Appendix Six). I received verbal consent from these others, having been advised by Joseph in the cases with the governmental officials, that it would be inappropriate to do otherwise with them. In the latter case, the group in Calicut gave their resounding "OK!" which was recorded on the audio tape during the proceedings. Anil Kumar gave written consent for the group the next day.

Language and Translation

All people with whom I met spoke English, so conversations were conducted in English.

Data Collection and Text Creation

Recording and Transcribing Research Conversations

Data collection for this research occurred mainly through audio tape recording of conversations, done with the permission of each research participant. Three conversations from which I took data were not recorded. One was not recorded due to environmental noise; this was a conversation with Dr. Thomas Isaac. Fortunately, he is very well known in Kerala and has been interviewed in the press and has also published extensively. I supplemented the notes from this conversation with these written materials. The other two conversations were unexpected meetings with informal participants. These conversations were documented via hand notes. Because there was a lag in time between the conversations and the completion of the transcripts, I hand wrote a thank you note to each participant within a week following the conversation on cards showing scenes of San Francisco. These turned out to be much appreciated. A sample thank you note is documented in Appendix Four-A.

Once I returned from India, the audio tapes were transcribed by mid September, the final ones from my visits to Washington, D.C. were completed in October directly following the conversations. With the help of a young person in Chennai who did the first draft of the transcription of the conversations held in India, I, the researcher, completed all transcripts. This turned out to be a good process, particularly because the verbal accent of the research participants in Kerala was familiar to the young woman

helping me and of course, my own voice is very familiar to me. It was a good way to ensure a complete transcription. Individual transcripts were then returned to the research participants, attached in an email with a request that they review it (in Appendix Four-B). This was to have been an opportunity for a second conversation; however, in general, I found that people made corrections but were not interested in commenting further. I do think they appreciated having editorial control over the data. In one case, I was asked to send back to the research participant the quotes used from the conversation.

Personal Journal

Another source of data was my personal log and journal, which documents the conversations and my personal recollections and reflections. As Herda (1999: 98) explains, "[a] forthright and well-documented log will show remarkable changes over time in the researcher's understanding of both the process and the theory." This was certainly the case for me early on as it was in my journal that I discovered that I wanted tourism to be the focus of my development study. Data from my journal appears in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. There is also a sample entry in Appendix Sixteen.

Other Documents

I collected other documents during this research period as well. These documents include reports or policy statements from organizations with which research participants work, i.e., I was given the State Planning Board's 2002 and 2003 Economic Review of Kerala (2003, 2004) on my visits to Kerala, one in January and the other in July. Other documents collected include pertinent magazine and newspaper articles, articles written by my research participants, published materials (print and on CD-ROM) from the M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation and World Tourism Organization and emails.

Observation

As with all anthropologists, one rich source of data was my own observation. The observation had to be fixed in writing, initially as notes in my journal or on my notepad. The next chapter, Chapter Five, includes much of what was observed during this research period.

Text Creation

All data become text when they are "fixed by writing...writing preserves discourse and makes it an archive available for individual and collective memory" (Ricoeur 1981: 145, 147). All sources of data mentioned above, conversations, my personal journal and notepads, any written documents obtained during the research process, and my documented observations were fixed in writing in order to be used in the data analysis phase of research.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is the heart of discovering new possibilities in the writing of the dissertation. It begins with a process of reading and re-reading the texts. As this occurs, a new world opens in front of the text. Ricoeur writes (1988: 174) "reading must not be confined to the field of application...reading must pass through all three stages [of interpretation: understanding, explanation and application]." He writes that it is in the reading and re-reading that we experience these stages of interpretation and further that,

> ...reading includes both richness and opacity; rereading clarifies but in so doing makes choices. It is based on the questions that remained open after the first passage through the text but offers only one interpretation among others. So a dialectic of expectation and of questions governs the relation between reading and rereading. Expectations are open but more undetermined; questions are determined but more closed-in upon themselves (1988: 175).

Recognizing the importance of this process of reading and re-reading in my analytic process taught me that it is not the first "innocent reading" in which meaning is found. I had to read texts numerous times, "reading them at a distance," before I could ask, "what does the text say to me and what do I say to the text" (1988: 175)?

Because we have authority over the text to act on it, answering the question above resulted in the creation of this text known as my dissertation. To accomplish this, a number of activities occurred. Herda (1999: 99) lists some of them:

> Pull out significant statements, develop themes and place them in categories...Substantiate the themes or important ideas with quotes from conversation transcripts...examine themes to determine what they mean in light of the theoretical framework of critical hermeneutics...

I experienced data "analysis [as] a creative and imaginative act...[where] the researcher appropriates a proposed world from the text. When we expose ourselves to a text, we come away from it different than we were before" (1999: 98). In my experience, this was the joy—and the risk—in doing this kind of research.

Timeline

Working toward 20 January 2005 when the first draft of my dissertation was due, I used the following timeline: between May and end of June I finalized my trip to Kerala which commenced on June 30. I was in India until 8 August. During the period of research travel, I met with various research participants and made arrangements to get help with the transcriptions of the conversations. I also met with research participants in the United States after the trip to India, in September and October and attended a two-day Forum sponsored by the World Tourism Organization in mid October.

From mid August until mid October I completed transcriptions. Once they were completed I started my initial data analysis and changed one category. By November, I

was writing the dissertation, with Chapter Five completed by the first week of December. The remaining chapters were completed subsequently and the entire document was edited and readied for submission a week before the deadline.

The pilot study conducted in 2002 gave me a good opportunity to experience and test this research protocol firsthand. I offer a summary of it below.

Pilot Study: The Place of Identity in International Development

Introduction

The intent of my pilot study (conducted in Fall 2002) was to explore the question, "what is the place of identity in development work," to assess the depth of the question and its worth as a dissertation topic based on a critical hermeneutic analysis of two pilot conversations. The complete pilot study is included in Appendix Seven. Below is a summary of what I learned that is pertinent to my next steps toward my dissertation.

I discovered that an element of hermeneutic research is that the project unfolds as meaning discloses itself. This fact is especially evident in my pilot study which was not focused specifically on either Kerala nor on the topic of tourism as a plan for socioeconomic development. Yet it was significant in terms of establishing my interest in looking at identity related to development endeavors. Thus, I believe the study served an appropriate purpose even though I did not pilot my specific research questions.

The summary proceeds as follows: after identifying my conversation partners, I review some of the theory (which has been covered in detail in Chapter Two of this dissertation, the Review of Literature), followed by a synthesis of the data. The analysis asks some new questions, including, what are some conditions so identity is revealed to have a place in development practice. I conclude with a reflection on what I am learning.

Conversation Partners

Two people agreed to talk with me, Jane Schubert and Brian Sellers-Petersen [see Appendix Eight, Description of Field Project, for background information on both people]. The two conversations occurred on November 7 and 13, 2002 respectively, one in Washington, D.C. in Jane's office and the other, with Brian, in Seattle, Washington, driving in a car and later at a Starbuck's. The settings reflect the depth of the exchanges.

Discussion of Theory

The theory section of the pilot explored two elements of critical hermeneutic theory, Ricoeur's theory of prenarrative structure (*mimesis*$_1$) and Habermas' theory of the uncoupling of system and lifeworld, both of which, I claim, have direct influence on how identity is expressed, lived out and understood by others. See Chapter Two, Review of Literature or Appendix Seven (Discussion of Theory).

By looking at these two theories together, I was able to identify one implication for development practice: when people of different cultures interact, they have different senses of reality and different ways to express their realities. This is created by their prenarrative structures, which create their order of action and by the probability that their cultures are at different stages of uncoupling of system and lifeworld which is part of the rationalization process. These differences affects significantly the actors' ability to communicate with one another, and, in the process, conceals from each other their orientations to the world, their very identities.

However, if we believe there is limited ability to mediate between cultures with these differences, there would be few reasons to do development work and perhaps even result in our believing we should leave well enough alone. This however is not an option

or ethical choice in our interconnected, global experience. While cultures "are viewed as holistic frameworks of significance" from a hermeneutic perspective, they are also "mutually permeable and inherently open to one another" (Healy 2000: 67). If openness can be mediated communicatively, it is possible to mediate the differences between the prenarrative structures and the stages of evolution of lifeworld and systems. The differences between cultures thus become a productive horizon for interaction where identity is confronted and development can occur.

The synthesis and analysis of the data from two development practitioners explored how this idea of differences between cultures becomes a productive horizon for interaction and whether it reveals a place for identity in development practice.

Synthesis and Analysis of Data

In synthesizing the data from the two transcribed conversations [see Appendix Nine and Ten for the transcriptions], I focused on two themes and one implication: the identity of the development practitioners, Jane and Brian, and how each of them is called to this work; the reality created in language when development issues are discussed and some conditions in development practice if there is to be a place for identity in it.

I found that neither Jane nor Brian had any problem talking about or identifying their own order of action (their prenarrative structures, *mimesis*$_1$) and how deeply embedded in their own identity the sense of mission is for doing this work, but they were perplexed by a direct question of the place of identity in development work. When I clarified what I was asking, a different set of words came up to describe the phenomenon of identity: in Jane's case, she used the words of "ownership, partnership and reciprocity." Agreeing with Heidegger (1971) that language is the house of being and

that therein lies reality, I had to come to an understanding that the reality Jane conveys in her words may point toward different action than placing identity in development practice. This is evidenced in other development scenarios where "partnership" and "national ownership" are empty "rhetoric [used as] part of a strategic trend by international institutions to disguise interventions in political and economic reforms..." (Crawford and Hermawan 2002: 225). Thus, while Jane and Brian easily claim their own identity in the order of action, the expression of their explicit goals and motives conceals the issue of others' identity.

As a result, I claimed that in current practice, the place of identity is indirect at best, and ignored in extreme circumstances. With the help of the theories from Habermas and Ricoeur, I identified conditions that create the possibility that identity is a recognizable part of development practice: one condition rests on the steering media of professional expertise and value commitment which keeps the interactions always available communicatively. When interactions are based in these steering media, technical efficiency is mediated so it does not lead to dehumanization. I saw this ideal in practice through Jane's actions with her colleagues and through the operating model of World Vision described by Brian.

Thus, as people straddle the line between two worlds, the traditional world with cultural demands and the modern with its technical and communicative ones, both a communicative spirit and technical expertise are required. These elements serve to create relationships with horizons that are "mutually permeable and inherently open to one another" (Healy 2000: 67) so future development practice reveals identity at its core. In other words, actors on all sides of development play a role placing identity at

development's core by acknowledging and living into the idea that our identities are changed in the process of what we give and by what we give up.

Making a place for identity in development practice also requires an understanding of the norms and ideals of the other culture and their sense of time. In other words, a condition for sustainable development is recognizing the prenarrative structure of the other (*mimesis*$_1$). This is part of confronting identity, an identity known only in narrative. It is in narrative where the differences between cultures become the productive horizon for interaction and where the relationships become the foundation for placing identity in international development work.

One key question that arises from this analysis is if identity is to be considered as core to development work, the place of development must be carefully assessed. The question is, is the "lifeworld sufficiently rationalized" (Habermas 1987: 173)? Unless ideals and approaches are part of "shared cultural knowledge," (1987: 184) any development occurring without answering this question, is likely to be wasted time, energy and money and ultimately, will result in an avoidance of the issue of identity.

Implications

The intent of this field project was to explore the question, "what is the place of identity in development work," and to assess its depth and its worth as a dissertation topic. Both were validated in the interactions with Jane and Brian.

I learned a great deal from these conversations; they taught me how I might be a better conversation partner. I know the importance of preparation in the subject matter in order to engage someone in a conversation and how to stop a future interaction when it is off track. And through it all, even as I changed my focus toward exploring tourism as a

sustainable approach to socioeconomic development, the question of identity has remained central to my interest. I would call this pilot a successful venture.

I have reflected upon how the conclusions of this pilot study affected my research on tourism as a plan for sustainable socioeconomic development in Kerala. The theories offered a way to interpret the place of identity in development practice, but there was still a gap between theory and action in appropriating a sustainable model for development that "depends on historical markers [so] people retain their identity and integrity" (Herda 2004). And yet, in reviewing my journal from Kerala, I saw that I started asking questions that were at the intersection of my experience and the theory. It confirmed that the project was going to continue to unfold as meaning disclosed itself.

Summary

This pilot study was intended to test the question, what is the place of identity in development work, but I had the added benefit of more than an additional year to also test my own resolve as I have learned more about development and my own identity. I use "resolve" in, as Ricoeur (1984: 6) says, its "poetical and not a theoretical sense of the word," allowing for an opening in our souls, a "zone of awareness" which according to Augustine is "articulated by language and enlightened by [our] intelligence and is thus able to "hold firm against the onslaughts of skepticism" (1984: 9). This strength to hold firm led me to trust my experiences and opened my imagination in the research project to engage and grasp development differently, to appropriate a new orientation toward it.

Background of the Researcher

Since leaving the company and work that I had done for nearly seventeen years in 1998, I have been in the process of refiguring my life. I feel fortunate to have found this

program within the School of Education at the University of San Francisco as it has been a significant part of shaping the refiguration as I reach back into my past and orient myself toward the future. Having this period come to fruition in the writing of this dissertation has been a fitting way to reflect on six years of study. I am eager for the next phase of life to unfold.

The idea that I wanted to encounter mystery as a part of this research is not something that most researchers seek; I imagine that they are looking for the visible, empirically testable solutions. While I recognize the predominance of research done in the traditional paradigm, I sensed that for me, it would have been too confining and would only lead me to the same solutions that others have more eloquently discussed. I want to engage another level of reality because it is in this realm in which my life has taken on new meaning. I am delighted to have been encouraged and to have had the opportunity to explore in this way.

Mystery is not the only attraction, however. I realized while traveling in Kerala in January 2004 that studying tourism makes good sense for me; my first "real" job while going to college in the early 1970s was as a historic tour guide on Mackinac Island, an island between the upper and lower peninsulas of the state of Michigan. As I encountered the tour guides on my trip to Kerala, I realized that I had questions to ask them; it was a job for which I have a deep appreciation, having done it for three summers, and knowing how much I learned during that time. I remember the long hours, the necessary smiles, even when I didn't feel like it, the sense of representing my state to many visitors, the responsibility of learning to give an accurate and entertaining tour so the tourists would enjoy their visit to this very special place. When I was in Kerala and

was told by one guide that he didn't feel respected for what he did, it took me by surprise. It seems to me they are ambassadors, welcoming and educating and helping tourists spend their foreign currency, all of which, from the State's perspective, are desirable outcomes of the visits.

I struggled while in Kerala during my first trip, trying too hard to "allow Kerala to come to me" as my brother-in-law advised. In my journal, I wrote, "what in the world do I have to offer that is uniquely mine?" When I finally asked myself, "what is right in front of me that I might miss if I don't ask this of myself?" there it was: the idea to follow my interest in exploring tourism.

Another reason that this study fit is that I am attracted to process, the way the world works. I spent ten years as the head of training and organizational development for a Fortune 200 corporation and found myself often asking how things are done and how they might be changed so they might be more effective or efficient, all so I might teach them to others. This course of study at USF has offered me ways to think beyond efficiency and effectiveness, e.g., whether at the same time, something can be done ethically, and indeed, to ask directly, what is our ethical responsibility. Certainly, that is an essential part of appropriating a different stance toward socioeconomic development.

Yet, I keep asking myself, what motivated my interest in the relationship between identity and tourism as one medium for socioeconomic development in Kerala? I shared my first answer to this question in the Introduction of this dissertation. If indeed issues of identity are an aspect of the dis-ease in young people attracted to terrorist activities, we not only avoid this issue at our peril but when we do choose to engage the issues, we must change our approaches.

If I believe that every person must have their dignity respected, then it follows that claiming one's identity in the face of change brought on by socioeconomic development is a part of the narrative that I participate in refiguring. In the context of this dissertation, this means acknowledging that to plan and fund development projects, including the expansion of tourism, based in a "scientific paradigm which depends on economic markers, not historical ones...[do not create conditions for] people to retain their identity" (Herda 2004). In other words, if tourism is to be expanded in a sustainable and authentic way, new policies are required that mediate preservation and the use of resources—resources which include the personal and community identity of people. The next three chapters take on the issue of finding a place for identity in development, offering a different orientation and emphasis than current models of development.

Telling the story of Nema Tenzi from the film "The Sherpa" (Godfry 1983) in the Introduction to this dissertation served me in two ways: the first was to introduce my interest in exploring tourism as a scheme for socioeconomic development through a narrative, setting the stage for my orientation toward research. The second however had a more personal side to it: when I originally saw this film I was asked to reflect on some events in my own life and realized that my response to the events were guided by the same values that guided Nema and his wife Chunji, namely, faith, friendships and the relationships within my family. It led me to glimpse something important in the intersection of our two stories: that refiguring one's life depends on a universal experience of claiming one's identity: living into that part of us that keeps us deeply connected to our foundation while bowing to the ever present winds of change. I see this

as an essential underlying theme of this dissertation because it is certainly an essential theme of the life I have been living in the last seven years.

Nema's narrative led me to reflect, with gratitude, on the wonder of faith, family and friends in my life. A first trip to Kerala and the idea that I wanted tourism to be part of my research brought me back to my own roots and the desire to claim a vocation in which "my deep gladness and the world's deep hunger meet" (Buechner 1993: 119). I hoped my willingness to approach Kerala from a critical hermeneutic orientation would lead me to appropriate a new orientation toward socioeconomic development that leads to an unfolding of a vocation that responds to both gladness and hunger. Chapters Five, Six and Seven are the opening chapters of this new phase of life.

I end this section with a quote of Emmanuel Lévinas (1995: 195), describing "ethical responsibility" as

> ...*insomnia* or *wakefulness* precisely because it is a perpetual duty of vigilance and effort which can never slumber...[L]ove cannot sleep, can never be peaceful or permanent. Love is the incessant watching over of the other; it can never be satisfied or contented with the bourgeois ideal of love as domestic comfort or mutual possession of two people living out an *égoisme-à-deux*.

Perpetual duty of vigilance and effort were behind the responsibility I felt in seeking to work on this topic, because peace, because sustainable livelihoods in which dignity is respected are only possible through communicative relationships with others in which we share our stories. It was in a story that I was introduced to Nema Tenzi, a man on the other side of the world, in another time and space, who unknowingly helped me reflect on my own identity. Perhaps part of the mystery of development to which I have attempted to remain open throughout this research process is that it is the simple sharing of stories that generates and releases one's power-to-act—a power-to-act to imagine a different

future and thus, refigure and claim one's identity. Perhaps sharing our stories is one way to act ethically in a world where too many of us have fallen asleep.

Summary

This chapter explores the theoretical framework of participatory inquiry in a critical hermeneutic tradition and the anthropological foundation upon which this research rests. This theory creates a different orientation toward research than the received tradition that dominates current practices. Just as research requires a new orientation, in development I posit that it takes a different orientation to realize, as stated previously, that "well-being does not come from [economic] growth" (Rist 2002: 46) but that the source of well-being is grounded in care. Similarly, the pilot study concluded that a change in orientation is necessary for identity to be core in the work of development. Critical hermeneutics offers this orientation, one oriented toward others.

Being oriented in research or in development toward the other guides the researcher to ask different questions, e.g., concerning social action, language, imagination and history. Through these questions, the research opens new possibilities for the researcher and participants, a fundamental reason for doing research. In other words, the researcher and participants have authority to grasp possible new worlds.

With my particular history and experiences that have motivated my interest in my research topic, and finding myself inspired by Levinas (1995: 195) above, I turn to Chapter Five, the presentation of data. I trust his words to continue to guide me as I explore refiguring the act of development through the medium of tourism in Kerala.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA PRESENTATION
TOURISM OF A DIFFERENT KIND IN KERALA

Introduction

> Like the landscape of his land, the Keralite is startlingly fascinating. He fights to preserve ecology while his city spreads like cancer...He sympathizes with Marx; he admires the likes of Branson. He supports privatization; he prefers a Government posting. He'd rather wait for a white-collar job here; he subscribes to dignity of labour abroad. He supports international causes; he believes that back home, things will take care of themselves...He is a diplomat to the core; he speaks his mind fearlessly at the teashop down the road...(Balan and Swarup 2004: 13).

This account appears in a book, *Moments When You Know There's a God*, given to me by the Secretary in the Ministry of Tourism for the State of Kerala, Mr. T. Balakrishnan, following an animated and insightful conversation about the advantages, disadvantages, challenges and possibilities of expanding tourism in Kerala. Mr. Balakrishnan was the highest ranking civil servant in the Ministry of Tourism (he moved to another governmental post in September 2004) and helped to create a "tourism awareness campaign," which, starting in 1985, intended to educate parents, children and opinion makers that tourism could bring much needed employment to the state. He sees another advantage of pursuing tourism in Kerala's history, "when Kerala was integrated with the world, we were always prosperous and well off." This conversation shows a glimpse of the "startling fascinating" people of Kerala.

This chapter offers elements of a narrative of development based on data from conversations with the people I was privileged to meet (see list of research participants and short biographies in Appendix Five). The chapter is punctuated throughout with vignettes or stories similar to the one that introduces this chapter because it is through our stories that "one of our most viable forms of identity—[both] individual and communal"

(Kearney 2002: 4) is revealed. In other words, these publicly accepted narratives are an important part of understanding who the people of Kerala are and offer guidance to approaches that can lead to sustainable development. The stories constitute the prenarrative structure, the prior order of action, which will sustain the refiguration of the act of development.

Two intertwining themes make up the elements of the plot of this narrative of Keralan development: the role of tourism in Kerala's development and what it takes to expand tourism in an authentic Keralan manner for the well-being of the Keralan people. These same two themes are then configured using the data from one particular region of Kerala, the Malabar Coast, including Wayanad District, where a group of local citizens gathered at the invitation of a well respected Indian NGO, the M.S. Swaminathan Foundation (MSSRF), to look into the "Prospects of Community Tourism in 'Malabar Coast' of Kerala" (MSSRF 2004a). It was the first gathering of this group at which I was the honored guest in July 2004.

The Role of Tourism in Kerala's Development

Settling on a marketing campaign that heralds Kerala as "God's Own Country," in 1991, has led Kerala to be "branded as one of the most wanted tourism destinations" (State Planning Board 2004: 238). The state now gives high priority to this sector by recognizing that "[c]onstant attention to improvement of infrastructure and environment (physical, ecological, cultural and social) are essential" (2004: 238). Kerala, as Mr. Balakrishnan reminded me, has "always been open to the world" and in a recent telephone conversation with a tour operator in India, Rajeev Parameswaran (see

Appendix Five), indicated that the new tourism season prior to Christmas was even busier than the past season.

In this section, I present data showing why tourism is a viable industry for Kerala to pursue and then look at the opposing views expressed about how development should be executed in the state, particularly as it relates to the expansion of tourism industry.

"Tourism of a Different Kind"

Kerala's tourism awareness campaign which started in 1985 was an early, important activity to counter impressions held by many that tourism could bring nothing but negative effects to the state. In Mr. Balakrishnan's words, the prior prevailing opinion of tourism was that it was

> ...an alien activity, something that may corrupt the culture and which will interfere with the normal way of living...They thought tourism equals sex. Tourism is sex trade, drinking and that kind of thing so they...mostly associated tourism with those so-called parts of society...[because] that is what they read [in newspapers], that is what they hear, that is what they know.

This impression was confirmed in my conversation with Dr. Nata Duvvury (see Appendix Five) when she said "tourism of a different kind" is a very real possibility in Kerala. I asked Dr. Duvvury to clarify what "tourism of a different kind" means. She started by contrasting what she had recently seen in Kenya, "where there has been a lot of tourism around the natural beauty and it's being regulated, it's very organized," with another kind which one "normally [hears] when you say tourism, I also think of Bangkok or you think of Sri Lanka where there's a tremendous amount of...where sex and exploitation of the local population is the main outcome of tourism." She continued, "Kerala would be a different kind because you have an educated population, you have a

population that is very much more aware of their rights and of what conditions there should be, etc."

Having an educated, politically active and aware population is important because of what is fundamental about tourism itself. Dr. Duvvury explains:

> ...there is the outsider coming in and viewing something as the object whether it is a culture, whether it's a place, whether it's a population, whatever, there's that viewing of something that is exotic, which makes it a very different kind of interaction. For that interaction to be meaningful...where the object...doesn't have any power within that relationship, to get away from that, you need the population or the place that's going to invite others to come and enter, to have a very strong sense of what they will allow and will not allow. So, I think in Kerala that potential is there, so it would be a tourism of another kind.

Thus, it is "that combination of natural beauty and a very literate human resource which has always been the two conditions for tourism to really develop in a place." Beauty, or whatever draws people to a place is not enough; it also requires an informed, literate, politically active populous to prevent exploitation of the human, environmental and economic resources.

Differing Views of Development in Kerala

I was fortunate to have a lengthy conversation with the Secretary in the Ministry of Tourism, Mr. T. Balakrishnan. I had prepared a few questions and reviewed them with him before starting our conversation. Finally, I asked, "why is tourism important to the state?" and he answered,

> ...people in Kerala have always been open to the world, unlike many other parts of India...we don't see foreigners coming, mingling, staying with us, interacting, as a so called threat. We don't see that, because we have been exposed to foreigners for almost, maybe 2000 years, maybe more. So that way, I think, it [tourism] fits in well with the psychology of the people.

Following an interruption in our conversation, he continued:

> Yes, it fits with the psychology, and also people here, maybe because of the level of education are moving a bit more and more from the blue collar jobs and they are, will be, more comfortable in service areas, that is something which goes well with the, we can call it psychology, attitude, culture, whatever it is, so it fits well.

I then asked, "what is tourism's role in Kerala's overall economic development scheme?" Mr. Balakrishnan said, "we can really create a tourism-led growth strategy for this state. It can be the most important activity of the state." I followed up, asking, "is there agreement on that point in the government do you feel?" and he responded:

> Let's say, again, we were almost leading toward that kind of a consensus. And the understanding that we reached is that it has to be broad based, instead of calling it "tourism growth strategy" we will really have to look at "a services-led growth strategy." ...[that means] bringing jobs here and doing anything from back office processing to call centers, things like that.

Because of Kerala's perennially high unemployment, state officials in Kerala are eager to attract businesses and industries and the travel and tourism industry is believed to offer great employment potential. In 2003, this industry was

> ...expected to yield directly 378,600 jobs...or three percent of total employment. A total of 788,600 jobs (direct and indirect) or 6.2 percent of total employment are expected to be generated across the broader spectrum of the travel and tourism economy. Over the next ten years Kerala's travel and tourism industry is expected to create 757,100 jobs while the broader travel and tourism economy is expected to create 1.4 million new jobs (State Planning Board 2004: 242).

I met two other men in Trivandrum, the state capital, who also work in Kerala's state government, one a politician, Dr. T.M. Thomas Isaac (see Appendix Five), a leader in the Left Democratic Front (LDF), currently in the opposition, and the other, Mr. Joseph Oommen, who works in the Ministry of Labour and Rehabilitation. (Mr. Oommen made it clear to me he expressed personal views only, not the official views of his minister.) Both would agree that, in Joseph's words, "the biggest problem that Kerala is

facing is unemployment," and that tourism is a most important industry because it can generate employment and be a good source of growth for the state. However, each of them maintained differing perspectives meant to ensure the industry not only has a positive effect on the economic circumstances but does so in a way that is consistent with Kerala's culture and preserves its environment.

Dr Thomas Isaac is widely regarded as a progressive left intellectual and is said to be "the key architect of the LDF's decentralisation-for-development experiment" (Krishnakumar 2003) which was implemented under the name, the People's Campaign in August 1996 (Franke and Chasin 2000: 34). In an interview in which he "compares the development visions of the two governments" (Krishnakumar 2003), the LDF and the currently in power, Congress-led United Democratic Front (UDF), Thomas Isaac said the People's Campaign was more than a governance plan to decentralize decision making:

> It was a two-legged plan. As for the small-scale agriculture and service sectors where people could directly control the means of production, we thought that by allowing them to take decisions on their own and giving them autonomy in decision-making and also the resources to implement the plans, we could ensure development, increase the production and productivity in petty production sectors and improve the quality of development projects. But in sectors that required huge investments, apart from government intervention, we would welcome private investment. Not only private investment from Kerala, but also larger capital, even foreign capital. We are not averse to that...So our strategy was not merely decentralisation of production. There were two sides to it.
>
> But the important point is that while we tried to bring in investment from outside, we made it very clear that there was a certain ethos of the State that the investors will have to respect; and it was not for sale. In return, we will ensure that Kerala's organised labour will stick to agreements and if there are problems the government will handle it. It is precisely this larger vision that is being given the go-by now by the UDF.

There is a basic principle that underlies the above position

> ...that of subsidiarity: what can be done best at a particular level should be done at that level and not at higher levels. All that can optimally [be] done at the lowest level should be reserved to that level. Only the residual should be passed to the higher levels. The different tiers while functioning in ways complementary to each other, should have functional, financial and administrative autonomy (Thomas Isaac 2000: 1).

In our brief conversation, this same principle was clearly implied in the three points that Thomas Isaac shared with me about how he feels tourism can appropriately grow in Kerala, taking advantage of the educated population while creating backward linkages in local communities.

> 1. Decentralize services: This is the policy of the state government (break the enclave mentality)
> 2. Diversify development throughout the state—scatter [tourism projects] throughout state.
> 3. [Results in] integrating tourism with local planning mechanisms, not the central government. Rather, provide resources from the central government.
>
> Those international players who will play by these state rules (recognizing that their properties in Kerala would be different than their other properties) would be welcome.

These issues, making it "clear [to investors and developers] that there [is] a certain ethos of the State" and following the principle of subsidiarity, lead Thomas Isaac to advocate a different type of tourism than "enclave tourism, i.e., a big hotel and tourists mov[ing] from one center to another, removed from the local population." If there is a specific role for state government in tourism, he mentioned the need for schools of hospitality "to imbue pride in our state and its cultural traditions." He felt it is important to debate the issues related to expansion of tourism but in the context of other pressing statewide issues, he was skeptical that it would occur.

Joseph concurred on this last point saying tourism is currently not a priority that gathers attention; something dramatic would have to occur to put it in the midst of a

public debate. In addition, the state has scarce resources to invest. In his opinion, he commented, "we're actually going in a very risky environment. That goes not only for tourism—that goes for anything." He continued:

> When you start selling a product there is always people who stop buying it. That is always the problem in any product, with seeing Kerala as a product, 'God's Own Country.' So, we are going into very risky territory... If people are interested, let them come and stay here and do whatever they want. We are not going to change our way of living or we are not going to put up new buildings, we are not going to offer new services. Whatever we have, we have- People can come from America or anywhere and see and share whatever we have. We have what we have. We have got Kathakali, we have got this, we have got that. This has been there always. If you don't have it, you don't have it. So, by if you are coming and sharing it with us, we are not investing more. If you stop coming also, it is not going to drastically affect us. No cost benefit or there is no pay back.

After meeting with these three different people with acute knowledge about Kerala's development needs, I realized there is not political consensus on how to achieve "all-round development" (Krishnakumar 2003) and what tourism's role is in it. Dr. Thomas Isaac believes that the previous LDF government (that went out of office in 2001) had a strong alternative to "unbridled marketisation and privatisation," while the current UDF government is merely creating policies in a neo-liberal economic paradigm.

> We in the last LDF government had a democratic alternative for economic growth for which we said we would preserve our past achievements and take them forward through people's participation, decentralised planning and devolution of powers to local communities. Plus, we were clear about areas where the State had a comparative advantage, like IT [information technology], light engineering, hospitality industry - where we invited private participation. But we were clear that we were not going to give away our heritage. In fact, we wanted to build on that. So that was the total vision of development. But the [current] UDF government has no such vision. The present effort cannot come to fruition and can only lead to social tensions. (Krishnakumar 2003).

Joseph however, sees "what Thomas Isaac is saying [as] impractical, even if [the LDF] comes to power...[because] he is only talking about political idealism...if they come to power, they are limited by their coalition politics." He told me the following story that indicates that even with LDF's vision, things can still go very wrong.

> Three, four years back Pepsi Cola came here and started a plant in Palghat...what they are doing is bottling water, making Pepsi and selling. What has happened, these people have done their survey and all. They have found that the water is readily available in that area. But, so far as Kerala is concerned, if a Multi National Company or International Company is coming and saying, "look, we will put a plant, which will employ 500 people." All because of our problem with unemployment...
>
> If a MNC comes in [saying this]...the Government will look neither right nor left and agree to any of their demands... So what happened was the people in Palghat...were very happy. Pepsi-Cola started their plant. Within two years, you know, they found that their wells were drying up...So, all the studies were conducted and basically they found two things—it was in today's or yesterday's paper—they found that there is contaminated water because of something that is coming from the Pepsi Cola plant, but secondly, because the plant is drawing so much water from their own deep wells, the neighboring wells are getting dried up.

Thus, even though the Keralan state government has interest in bringing jobs to the state based on its concern for unemployment as all three men said, these differences—determining how to best create conditions to develop economically while holding onto cherished cultural values—are significant and will continue to be as the roles of various players, the entrepreneurs, the multinational corporations (MNCs), local and state governing bodies, play out in pursuit of "a service-led growth strategy."

Conclusion

My conversations with all three men who work in Kerala's state government lead me to understand the order of action, "the always already" of *mimesis*$_1$, the Keralan prefigured world: that Keralites have capacity to act based on their educated and

politically active population, that although public debate about issues exists, the issues regarding expansion of tourism are not viewed as important as are other issues.

The internal conflict about what development means in Kerala creates a tension for mediation in which Keralites may have a voice to participate to bring about positive change. The outcome of the conflict rests not only on the ongoing debate in the political center but also on the local communities in which the tourism business operates and their ability to retain authenticity while innovating. I turn to this issue of authenticity next.

Choosing Authenticity

Tourism in Kerala has been focused generally on international arrivals—people from other countries and people coming to visit their families in Kerala though they travel on foreign passports. More recently, however, with an improved economy and a larger, growing middle class, domestic tourism is increasing and is thus creating a year round industry, which was originally a very seasonal business. Joshi P. George, a tour operator in Cochin said this about domestic tourism:

> We have domestic tourist mainly from Mumbai, Gujarat and Bengal. So from these 3 places we have maximum tourists coming...those people travel domestically. So this season, the summer season, we have school vacations i.e. April, May & June—we had maximum domestic tourists...at last year even during July August, the hotel was full...Profit is also not bad. You have to see the season...In this 3-4 months we don't have foreign tourists. So we can use our infrastructure and not idle it. We can use it for domestic and we can earn more money. That is the good part.

This means that the two seasons for foreign tourists and domestic tourists are complementary. Foreign tourism begins typically in August-September and goes through February-March and the domestic tourism begins in April with summer vacations (the months of April, May, June are considered to be India's summer—the most humid and hot before the onset of the monsoon season in June), and runs through August.

Due to these increasing numbers of tourists coming to Kerala, there is an explosion in "tourism products"—the activities that attract tourism business. With this explosion comes commercialization and commoditization—causing an inauthentic expression of Keralan traditions. As has been observed by researchers in tourism, Kerala is trying to avoid becoming "a living tourist attraction" where "the function of the village shifts from being the base of social relations in the local community to an interesting detail in the recreational experiences of a tourist from out of town" (MacCannell 1984: 389, 387). Rather, there is interest in authenticity, not only for the tourist experience but most importantly, for the Keralites themselves.

Below, I discuss three of these activities which have become "tourism products" —houseboats in the Backwaters, ayurveda and Kathakali dance, each of them traditional to Kerala and each going through its own version of innovation while attempting to be an authentic expression of the Keralan culture and people.

Kettuvallom Houseboats

A story I heard from two different people was of Babu Varghese, an entrepreneur who, according to Ajai Kumar K.S., wanted "the tourists to see new facets of Kerala." Babu, who prefers to be called "Babu," saying, "Keralans do not like to stand on ceremony" (Frater 1991: 40), is responsible for seeing possibility in the transformation of the "*Kettuvallom*" boats into houseboats, attracting tourists to the beautiful backwaters. Ajai describes the boat, "'*Kettuvallom*' literally means 'tied-boat'...It is known so because of its way of construction. Different wooden planks are tied together in the form of Boat." This boat is made "without using a single nail to hold the wood together" (Balan and Swarup 2004: 157). The *Kettuvallom* boats had originally been used on the

backwaters as barges. These barges, used to transport goods, mainly rice, throughout the backwaters, were rapidly being replaced by cargo trucks on newly built roads. This trucking was creating another layer of unemployment.

With only an idea but not much money, Ajai said Babu finally came into a small sum of money as "a consultant to National Geographic...it was just 20,000 rupees." Ajai continues, "with that money, he has bought an old cargo boat (*Kettuvallom*) and has repaired it and put forth a new commodity [referring to the houseboats]. He has become suddenly, quickly successful due to his marketing techniques." Joshi continues the story:

> He [Babu] got this idea and introduced the boats to a houseboat to carry the tourist. So because of this, these boatmen were without job, because of tourism, they have jobs. Now we had 30 houseboats 5-6 years ago, but now we have more than 300 houseboats. And each houseboat, you have to employ three people: one cook, one helper and one captain. So 300 houseboats it's 900 people, got new jobs, so it's a huge number considering a small place like backwater. Plus the office there, like managers, so on, so the number is to 1000. Now they are planning to increase that number of houseboats to 1000 by 2007. So within three years the number is going to be 1000. So you can find some 3500 more people get employed and that is how tourism is helping a lot in that area.

Babu, in Ajai's words, "searched old boatmen and boat making people and [gave] them back their old jobs maybe in new forms. So they did not lose their work, their relation to the old boats." In addition, he "gave an important role to the native cuisine. In houseboats, I can say we were giving the excellent food."

From one houseboat in 1991 when Babu started, to imagining that one thousand of them will be on the backwaters by 2007, things have changed. As Ajai said:

> He's [Babu] started it! Others are patterned after his. He was never against imitating his boats. Only because everybody imitated and make it more... But now, it has got a different meaning. Basically, it was an eco-tourism project based on eco tourism principles, but now people are using plastic and all. The [original] meaning is gone.

Although employment and incomes have increased dramatically due to the houseboats, there is some loss, too. First, related to the quality of the food—"nowadays, people are giving jam, bread, noodles and all [not the traditional Keralan food]" and second, environmental loss—waste and fuel for an increased number of houseboats, both adding pollutants to the waters. New restrictions have been implemented, as Joshi reports,

> ...like we did not have any license for houseboats, now it is compulsory. Now, we should get license. We also have different categories of houseboats. If you use solar, more eco friendly products, then they give golden category. That is number one category in houseboats.

At least one tour operator with whom I spoke, Rajeev Parameswaran, believes this over development of houseboats is not good for Kerala and will eventually result in a loss of business in the not too distant future.

> Backwater is a craze in Kerala. You have a houseboat where you can sleep, and visit all those canals and villages on the way but because of development, a lot of boats are there, and now you have to have a permit to travel in one direction, or one circuit. You can have a huge houseboat, a three bedroom houseboat, you are given only one specific area, because some areas of the backwaters they are low, shallow, so those areas are reduced areas. So, you have to be categorized as A-group, B-group, C-group...That is one development which is affecting Kerala in an adverse way, not many tourists will be coming in three, four, at most five years.

Meanwhile, Babu has gone on to other ideas and projects. Even though he has been slowed down by health problems, Ajai said, Babu "has got tree houses, the highest tree houses in the world...and this tree house, it was really authentic tourism, a good product in India...he also converted the bullock cart for rides in the beautiful villages..." The long term question is how to sustain authenticity if growth is not monitored. In other words, when Keralites are "made aware of [their] loss of self, [what motivates them to]... *strive to return to authentic being*" (Steiner 1989: 98)? This is as true about the houseboat experience as it is about ayurveda, to which I turn next.

Ayurveda

On my first trip to Kerala in January 2004, I had two different experiences of ayurvedic massage, part of the traditional medicinal practice of ayurveda, which typify the opportunity and problem of ayurveda as a tourism product. Below is a segment of my conversation (AM) with Rajeev Parameswaran (RP), talking about these two experiences.

> RP:...we don't promote a property [that gives ayurvedic treatments] unless we have been there ourselves... I have to make sure things are good and especially Kerala, ayurveda, ayurveda and Kerala, they go hand-in-hand so ayurveda must be the best one in that location.
>
> AM: ...My experience in January was having a massage up at Periyar that our guide suggested... "you're in Kerala, you should go do this..." and Jennifer and I, neither of us enjoyed the experience at all. And then, meeting the woman in Cochin whose husband is an ayurvedic doctor, going to the hospital and having a completely different experience. For me, it was really illustrative of the issues that you brought up— that it can be overexposed and people will just say, "I don't want to do this!" Because Jennifer will never have another ayurvedic massage.
>
> RP: Now that means one person who has been to Kerala would not recommend to anybody else to go for an ayurvedic massage in Kerala, especially in Kerala...And that might multiply into ten, hundred, thousand...so, it's not worth it.

In a medical journal at *Ayurkendram*, the center where I had my second experience reported above, there was an article entitled, "Tourism and Ayurveda" (Vasudevan Namboodiri 2003: 95), in which the author writes, "[t]here are merits in linking ayurveda to tourism. It gets global acceptance which will help the ayurvedic treatment and industry to flourish. The disadvantage is that ayurveda's status as a therapeutic system will be diminished to a soft entertainment." This sums up well what I learned from my own experience about ayurveda and how important it is that its practitioners strive toward authenticity.

Ayurveda is "an ancient system of medicine [having] evolved around 600 BC in India...It is aimed to make body free of diseases with due consideration to both...After curing the symptoms, body is subjected to a variety of rejuvenative procedures" (2003: 95). Among the rejuvenative procedures is massage done with medicated oils or herbal powders, often followed by an herbal steam bath and warm shower. Kerala's ayurvedic practitioners have "preserve[d] the ayurvedic tradition intact" in part because of its "unique climate, abundance of forests rich in medicinal plants and the cool monsoon season are best suited for a salubrious living than any where else" (2003: 96).

As I was in Kerala during monsoon season, I accepted the "prescription" that I should receive successive treatments over a period of days. As I entered the center each day, I was aware of entering a sacred space; prominently visible was the traditional Hindu oil lamp burning, indicating it as a place where a connection between body, mind and spirit is sought. I was able to have three treatments over three days with the same skilled young masseuse; after each treatment I felt (and was told I looked) relaxed, refreshed and yes, rejuvenated. The treatments had other wonderful effects, including encouraging good sleep. Even though I did not have an ailment to be treated or cured, I felt the treatment's aim to also "provid[e] mental, physical and spiritual well being" (Vasudevan Namboodiri 2003: 96) was very much a part of my experience.

Unfortunately, as I had found in January, not every ayurvedic treatment is as professionally and carefully offered under strict medical standards. Sasikala Devidas, who I met in January and who runs the *Ayurkendram* Centre at which her husband is the Director and Chief Consultant, told me how ayurveda has lost some authenticity.

> Like this, ayurveda has become a big business now in Kerala doing lots, lots, lots of manipulations, ladies are doing for gents, gents are doing for

> ladies. If you want a lady to give a bath for a man, the owner will charge a price, if you want the lady to brush somewhere else then the owner...like that, the money category comes with what you want to do. So the money comes. ...and people who are coming as tourists doesn't know the truth and fall in the wrong hand... So, that means, that the real thing we'll find is difficult to sustain, that is what is going to happen.

Ajai, who has worked as a tour guide for nine years, acknowledged there are a few resorts offering ayurveda that can "give good meaning [by] combin[ing] tourism and ayurveda." However, in imagining a guided trip of fifteen days to give "the complete meaning of what Kerala is" he said he doesn't "believe in making ayurvedic treatments commercial ...I will not market ayurveda. It is a lesson I have learned from my experience."

Another development complicating this scenario is the advent of medical tourism. India is becoming a cost effective place for people from other countries around the region, particularly from the Gulf States, to come for all kinds of medical treatments. Although nationally, this trend focuses on hospitals which give mainly Western care, in Kerala, the government sees "Kerala's definitive cost advantages in Healthcare sector...[for] attracting a large number of visitors" (State Planning Board 2004: 239). This is particularly true for people with "various ailments which were either not responding to modern system of medicine or declared incurable otherwise" (Vasudevan Namboodiri 2003: 97). Thus, there is a call for greater regulation of current facilities and restrictions on the proliferation of "ayurvedic massage parlours...[to avoid] complaints that many foreigners are being cheated by some illicit practitioners...[taking] this kind of unscientific practice...from the hands of money-mongers" (2003: 98, 97) .

This vigilance regarding authenticity continues to be important as individuals who practice ayurveda are faced with making "choices...between different possible modes of existence and [whether] the way [they] enact or live them out are ones through which

[they] are most truly [themselves] or rather ones in which [they] neglect or otherwise fail to be [themselves]" (Mulhall 1996: 32). As the economic side of tourism puts pressure on activities like ayurveda, it is likely they will lose their value culturally and monetarily if they are no longer practiced authentically. Innovation in such activities will not come through commercialization but through choices made to continue exploration of the science that is central to its practice, i.e., preserving the "forests rich in medicinal plants" (Vasudevan Namboodiri 2003: 96).

If the role of innovation in traditional science is limited then what is its role in traditional art forms? I explore this next as it relates to Kathakali dance.

Kathakali Dance

> Like the omnipresent coconut tree, the Keralite is largely stiff. Apart from the all-consuming passion he has for home-brewed spirits and Indian-made foreign liquor, there is one other thing that stirs the Keralites—art. Every Malayalee is proud of Kathakali and his large repertoire of traditional art forms. There is however, one small problem. In spite of their passion...many do not understand what these art forms are all about. So statements that tourism is diluting culture and tradition should be taken with bucketfuls of salt. Kurichi Natesan, an exponent of the recently revived *Arjuna Nritham* puts it very gently. 'I really think our tourists love and respect our land more that we do. At times I even get the feeling that they have actually cared to study more about our culture, our murals, our paintings and our music than we ever have. In fact, it is these travelers who open the eyes of our own people to the beauty and rich traditions of our land. And it is these travelers who are responsible for the revival of our traditional art forms and architecture' (Balan and Swarup 2004: 117).

One of the unexpected but welcome encounters of my first trip to Kerala in January 2004 was to meet Sasikala Devidas, who I first saw at the Cochin Cultural Centre, where a nightly performance of Kathakali dance is held. It was not until the next day that we learned that she was also running her husband's ayurvedic center.

Sasikala's father started the cultural centre and now, with her brother, she runs the daily show. One is invited to arrive early to watch the performers prepare—putting on their make up and costumes. To watch the transformation of the dancers from street clothes to magnificent and other worldly costumes and faces is an important and fascinating part of the entire experience. It is a significant way in which tourists are educated, as the vignette above indicates, to respect the traditional art form.

Sasikala narrated the first performance that I saw, an hour long performance, starting with an explanation of Kathakali, its history, the art of the dance and a description of the story to be told that evening. Then, the performance—a short segment of one of the epic stories from the Hindu texts of the Mahabharata or Puranas—complete with musical accompaniment on traditional instruments is performed. One cannot miss the traditional Hindu oil lamp burning on a mostly empty stage, a reminder that this, too, is sacred space and that Kathakali, once only performed "in the courtyards, temples and the houses of rich landlords" (Kaimal 1999: 112) is exploring the themes of "the great stories—righteousness and evil, frailty and courage, poverty and prosperity, war and peace" (Cannon and Davis 2000: 32).

Kathakali performances formerly started at sunset and went on until day break. This happens now only in certain temples; the majority of performances are held in public spaces, town halls or auditoriums, similar to the Cochin Cultural Center, where only a part of the story is performed. It is believed that setting a "time limit...[has] helped to attract a wider audience" (Kaimal 1999: 112). This kind of reform in a classical art form has a long history, "transforming Kathakali into a popular art" (Kaimal 1999: 113, 112).

This transformation has its positive and negative aspects. Ajai commented:

> They have "capsuled" Kathakali- one hour Kathakali. In a way, it is not a good thing because it is a temple art and this Kathakali is performed now on stage in front of people of different mentality and mood, just to give a taste of it, ...such a way this is...a pseudo-art. Earlier the audience knew how to enjoy it...
>
> But in another way, tourism has saved Kathakali at least in this capsule form, the modern people have no patience to see it [otherwise] because they don't understand it. Only the old generation people are the audience. Even though the modern "Tourist Kathakali" is a capsule one, the tourism has given it a new birth. Or I doubt whether Kathakali would be there for long time.

Even with negative aspects, Ajai still believes the changes are worthwhile because,

> ...even in the one hour program, they are still performing the performing art itself. They are still praying to God in the beginning and other beginning rituals such as "*Thiranottam,*" before the oil lamp and all other traditions are still kept...

Another transformation is the fact that Sasikala and her daughter are both Kathakali dancers which traditionally is a male only dance form. There are however still cultural barriers to overcome—in the tradition of performing Kathakali in temples, a woman is not allowed in the temple during her menstrual cycle thus she would not be allowed to attend, much less to perform. But now, because most of the performances are outside the temples, "ladies are also taking part."

There are several other innovations in Kathakali; while meeting with Mr. Balakrishnan, a French women named Brigitte Revelli arrived for her appointment with the Secretary. At the end of our conversation, he asked her to sit and talk with me briefly about her work: she was a modern dancer in France and has been in India for fourteen years. She studied Kathakali dance for four years, but left it when she became "fed up with how people allowed the tradition to be sold out for money, alcohol and sex." She

channeled her energies into new endeavors—first sculpture and then started working in puppetry—of Kathakali dancers. She now does Kathakali puppet shows in France and in Kerala during festivals. In order to make ends meet, she takes bookings from hotels, though she is hesitant because this is not the proper environment to respect the art form.

Careful consideration of what an innovation is, how it is approached is an important aspect of respecting tradition. The innovation can add something new to the art form or turn it toward commercialization and degrade it. Ajai told me,

> I am always against using just the name of or the word "tradition" for all and everything, as a fashion...OK there are some hypocrites...they perform the Kathakali in the bar. You know, I've seen a photograph...the photo is...Kathakali artist performs, but the photo is taken through a wine glass, in a bar. Kathakali is there in bar...that is a nasty way. An indecent compromise.

A different kind of compromise came when "the Kathakali version of Shakespeare's King Lear was staged at the Globe Theatre, London in the summer of 1999" (Balan and Swarup 2004: 83). While this speaks of international recognition of much of what is unique about Kathakali, it also shows similarities of two great traditions which have gone through many transformations over their history—for example, in both, only men played all the roles, both male and female. However, as Sasikala told me, one must approach these changes with great care:

> New, new experiments are coming, but it is not coming up to the level of imagination. Because...Shakespeare means there is an imagination in people's minds...[then] Shakespeare comes with green face or with heavy costume. It won't get by people's minds. So, the costume and this make up—let it show this new character ...people are doing many experiments, but it's not coming up to the level of the original stories of Kathakali... Costumes can't change, I don't think so...That means the identity of this art form is lost. Once you...If you are losing your dressing style, your identity is gone. Definitely. Kathakali costume changes means its identity will definitely change. Some small changes we can do, but not big ones.

Sasikala is aware of the importance of improvisation, imagination and innovation as it relates to the classical art form of Kathakali dance. She sees that "we are attracting more and more people into this with a new introduction, new style of performance, new style of demonstration." And, after years of study and performance, she holds strictly to the things she knows, i.e., the elements that make Kathakali what it is. In this way, she makes choices to represent authentically an art form steeped in tradition, still innovating.

In other words, Sasikala critically assesses the tradition of Kathakali dance, i.e., which elements must remain the same, for example, costumes and makeup which are central to telling the stories, and which elements can change, for example, the reduced time of a "Tourism Kathakali" performance, both of which keep the art form alive in a modern age. This recognition that identity oscillates between sameness and a need for flexibility to change sustains authenticity, whether it is Kathakali dance, Kettuvallom houseboats, the practice of ayurveda or a refigured act of development.

Conclusion

Ricoeur (1984: 68) posits that "tradition is constituted by the interplay of innovation and sedimentation." It is with this pre-understanding that I encountered the culture and tradition of Kerala during my research trips in January and July 2004. Ricoeur (1984: 68) writes, "let us understand by this term [tradition] not the inert transmission of some already dead deposit of material but the living transmission of an innovation always capable of being reactivated by a return to the most creative moments of poetic activity." Thus, I was looking throughout my visit for examples of an innovation grounded in the sediment of Keralan culture that was still a life giving force in people's lives while also bringing tourists to the state.

Similarly, the pre-understandings of my research participants play a role in how they view the importance of authenticity. In all cases, the people with whom I spoke have benefited from making choices that favor authenticity; while, from my perspective I had only one personal experience of inauthentic care in Kerala, the fact remains that commercialization and commoditization are problems that must be addressed as Cherian (1999: vii) comments.

> The transactions of culture today, are promotional in nature—sometimes aggressively so. The multi-colour brochure is the new cultural paradigm that rings together Kathakali, boat race, elephants, ayurveda and a host of other items. The package, obviously, is an imagined neo-colonialist shopping list...Cultural critique has been orphaned by a skilful coup of its orientation and terms of reference. This seems to be the frightening aspect of cultural imperialism promoted by the capitalist market economy and globalization.

If Kerala is going to remain a place where Keralites still feel themselves to be authentically who they are while remaining a preferred place for adventurous and appreciative tourists it is necessary that this issue of authenticity be more than a way to create monetary reward. It must be at the very heart of a community's livelihood in its deepest sense. The story that follows about a local community group that meets to imagine creating eco-tourism in their area is a good example of how care, "the primordial state of being of *Dasein* as it strives toward authenticity" (Steiner 1989: 101) is also the primordial nature of development.

"Treasures are right at our feet"— Imagining Eco-Tourism in "Malabar Coast" of Kerala

Introduction

> My work during the last 50 years relating to hunger-free India and world, has been greatly influenced by the concept, "the test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have little." Translated into

> action, this has meant concentration on improving the productivity of small farm holdings and the well being of the economically and socially under-privileged women and men who toil day and night and in sun and rain to produce food for their fellow human beings. I am firmly convinced that hunger and deprivation can be eliminated sooner than people consider feasible, provided there is synergy among technology, public policy and social action. This is the major lesson we can learn from the farm revolution that transformed India's agricultural destiny during the last part of the last century (Swaminathan n/d).

I first read this quote of Professor M.S. Swaminathan, which was affixed to the dashboard of a M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation (MSSRF) vehicle, while I was sitting in its backseat, driving around the Wayanad District of Kerala with some MSSRF employees. The significance of the quote, as I was told by Dr. N. Anil Kumar, Chief Scientist of MSSRF's Community Agro-Biodiversity Centre (see Appendix Five) is to remind them why they do what they do—the "basic mandate of MSSRF is to impart a pro-nature, pro-poor and pro-woman orientation to a job-led economic growth strategy in rural areas through harnessing science and technology for environmentally and socially equitable development" (MSSRF website). This was just one of many experiences that I had in my eight days of working with MSSRF staff and Professor Swaminathan himself that led me to be grateful for some advice I received from Steve Commins before I departed on my research trip. I wrote to Steve in an email:

> ...As important however were the things you said that still resonate with me as I embark on this research...to remember to allow it to unfold. I have to go with the flow of what people there want to offer to me and indeed it may change the research in significant ways. It is why I like this particular kind of research because we are encouraged to do just that.

Not only did the research change, but suddenly, inspired by the organization's vision, the commitment of the people and their willingness to welcome my ideas and energy and as a result of a significant conversation in which possibilities were imagined, we began an

ongoing relationship which has created the possibility of working together to develop eco-tourism in the Malabar region of Kerala. (I will elaborate on this project in Chapter Seven.) Using the same themes which have guided this chapter, the role of tourism in Kerala's development and choosing authenticity, I tell a different story of imagining the development of an eco-tourism industry to expand livelihoods in the Malabar region.

Imagining Tourism in Malabar Region

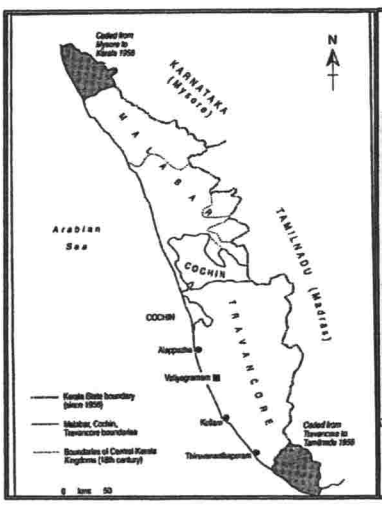


Figure 3: Pre-Unification Kerala
(Osella and Osella 2000: 19)

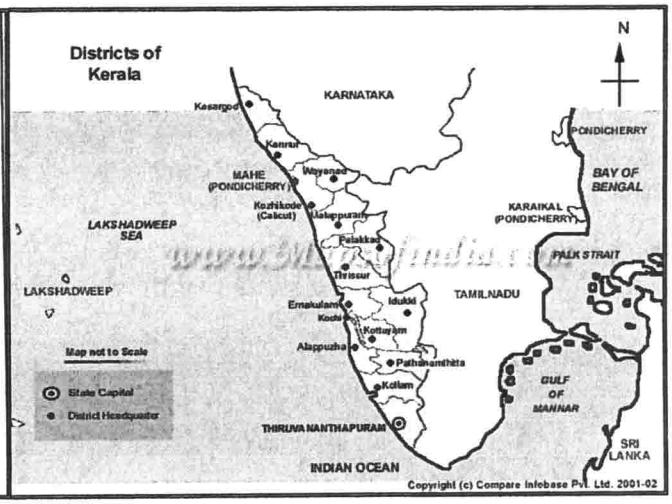


Figure 4: Current Map of Kerala
(www.mapsofIndia.com)

Before Kerala became a single language speaking state in 1956, the area was divided into the Malabar Region of Kerala (see Figure 3) consisting of Kerala's northern coastal districts, from Malappuram in the south to Kasaragod in the north and the interior Wayanad to the east (see Figure 4), and the former Princely States of Cochin and Travancore (see Figure 3). According to the Lonely Planet *Guide to Kerala* (Cannon and Davis 2000: 220), unlike the more southern parts of Kerala, "Northern Kerala is an unusual travel destination. Don't expect to be harangued by tour operators and touts. There's very little visitor information available, maps are hard to come by and few people

speak English." Yet, I saw much to recommend this area of Kerala: its natural beauty and biodiversity, distinct terrain and climate and wonderfully hospitable people.

In 2002 and 2003 as a part of its promotion of the state, "Kerala Tourism organized a series of events to attract more visitors and to position Kerala as a Meetings, Incentives, Conventions and Events destination," which included two events entitled "Mystiques of Malabar—Unveiling North Kerala" (State Planning Board 2004: 239, 240). The Department of Tourism also started giving priority to various site projects in Malabar "to tap the vast tourism potential of this virgin area" (2004: 240). With its own international airport in Calicut and good roads and trains connecting it beyond its borders, it will not be long before many more people "discover" the Malabar region.

At least three streams of activities converged to make my visit in July 2004 to northern Kerala the opportunity to bring together community leaders and interested parties for the purpose of exploring the "Prospects of Community Tourism in 'Malabar Coast of Kerala" (MSSRF 2004a). First, in 2003, a final report from the "Swaminathan Commission on WTO [World Trade Organization] Concerns for Kerala," a Commission of the Kerala state government, chaired by Professor Swaminathan, remarked, "[i]t [Kerala] is only State in the country capable of launching a dynamic programme of home and global tourism which caters the need of health, spirituality and eco-tourism" (MSSRF 2004a: 3-4). In one of the Commission's interim reports it was stated:

> Green health tourism is gaining popularity. The state has got already a high degree of green tourism. The tourism in this state is increasing because of the thousands of years of ayurvedic heritage and medicinal plants. The State has to take advantage of this great opportunity. We have to grow more medicinal plants, which will benefit the growers and processors. It creates downstream employment Infrastructure for medicinal plant needs to be created...Tribal development should be made an integral part of the infrastructure for the promotion [of] medicinal

> plants, as traditionally tribal communities are the conservers and preservers of medicinal plants and biodiversity in general...(Government of Kerala 2001-2003: 145).

These recommendations are pertinent to the Wayanad district of Malabar because it is situated in the Western Ghats which have "elicited the attention of major environmental organizations...[who] classify the Ghats as deserving the highest priority for conservation" (Cannon and Davis 2000: 24). It is also home to the highest percentage (17%) of "ethnic communities...in the state of Kerala... evidenced by the presence of five dominant tribal groups...and seven minor communities" (MSSRF 2004: 3).

Wayanad is where MSSRF located its Community Agro-biodiversity Centre in 1997, with its "mandate to empower the marginalized countries for conservation and sustainable use of agrobiodiversity of the southern western ghat and southwest coast region of India" (www.mssrf.org/programmes/b_b/201/201_2.htm). Connecting these two aspects, the plant wealth and marginalized communities, Dr. Anil Kumar said,

> ...we identified our natural wealth as...our plant wealth and I would like to add along with the plant wealth, the traditional knowledge, the traditional wisdom of the community. Because when we say the medicinal plants, that does [sic] not described by the medicinal plants, only people. When we say "medicinal plants," that is somebody's knowledge. Otherwise, there are hundreds of plants, how we call medicinal plants it is traditional knowledge. So, this traditional knowledge on one side, the genetic wealth on one side and our Human Resource capacity— because Kerala has got fantastic human resources...

This statement shows how Anil Kumar has appropriated MSSRF's orientation toward nature and the people of the rural areas they serve, a view I observed is held by everyone associated with the Foundation and embodied by Swaminathan himself.

A second activity occurred at about the same time as the recommendations of the Commission were issued: the completion of the translation of *Hortus Indicus*

Malabaricus, a 325-year old "twelve-volume work [written in Latin, published by the then Dutch government in 1678] of great value in the history of botany [which] gives information about 742 plants belonging to 691 taxonomic species" (Manilal in MSSRF 2004a: 3). This monumental work has given back to the people of Malabar long-lost, detailed information about their own plant wealth, helping people to imagine, as Professor Manilal (see Appendix Five) said, when "we...wake up with regard to our known strength... when we think about tourism, and development of tourism in Kerala, we should give proper importance and priority to our natural plant wealth."

And finally, the third activity that converged to create the opportunity to meet on eco-tourism, my own research was connected to MSSRF through a family contact. It was due to the encouragement of Mr. Alphonse Chandra Kumar (see Appendix Five) that Dr. Anil Kumar brought these streams together and took my visit as the catalyst to begin to explore the possibility of eco-tourism. Below is the text of the first email I received from Dr. Anil Kumar.

> I am happy to note that you are visiting Kerala for...studying the potentials of the ecotourism in the state. I had gone through all your mails especially the research questions to *guide conversations*. Those questions are very pertinent and should find answers from all the stakeholder groups connected with ecotourism from the state. As you perhaps know, Kerala is attracted by many people for its picturesque landscape and the salubrious climate. However, this has not evolved as a sustainable industry especially in terms of income generation to the tribal and rural communities who manage this God given resources of the state in sustainable manner. I rather suggest, community level ecotourism should emerge so as the benefits of this sector will reach to the bottom level people as well. This industry, I strongly feel can contribute in a greater way to the economic prosperity of the state. Hence, your study is very important especially in terms of identifying not only the various sectors of ecotourism but methodological approach and strategies for its sustainable and equitable implementation. I look forward to help your study to help my state.

Only two days before I left to go to India, I found out that a willingness to help with my research had turned into a way for MSSRF to begin to respond to this possibility in their community when Alphonse wrote two lines in an email, "spoke Dr. Anil Kumar, he is very excited about your visit to Kerala. He is organizing a meeting of all Stake holders on Ecotourism. The meeting is being organized at Calicut on 13th July, 2004." So, the stage was set to continue in a more public way, to imagine eco-tourism together.

Authenticity—Claiming the "Treasures right at our feet"

Introduction: Gathering

To my great surprise, on the morning of 13 July 2004, I saw in the local newspaper on page 3 an announcement, "In Kozhikode [Calicut] M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation and Ayurniketh Research Foundation: Interactive programme on 'Community Eco-tourism,' Hotel Sea Queen" (The New Indian Express 2004: 3; see also Appendix 11, the press release announcing the meeting). I felt exhilarated by the prospect that this topic had struck a chord and greatly anticipated the unfolding of the day's proceedings. I was not disappointed.

Because of the strength of the reputation of MSSRF, a great diversity of talent was assembled for the day: from those who are well versed with the biodiversity of the area to a business man who has his own tourism business. There were others who have vested interests because of their positions in their communities, either as local community leaders or as development specialists in both urban and rural areas of the region. And finally, there was a person who brought his experience of working with the Indian government and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in assessing tourism's effect on rural areas. (See Appendix Five for a list of the active participants;

though the group included thirteen people, the seven people listed were the most vocal with their opinions and are quoted herein.)

"Sitting together"

This meeting was oriented as a "brainstorming" session, as Anil Kumar said, "So you need not hide your feelings. You can talk, whatever you feel. Even you can talk in our own language. No inhibition about the language. You talk. It's going to be a brainstorming session. From there we will pick up the valuable points." As a result, each person was given an opportunity to speak his mind about the topic, developing tourism in this region. Mr. A.M. Abdul Kareem added, "fortunately, today the purpose of this meeting probably is done properly, we give the whole of Malabar a very great interest because Malabar invariably is unspoilt. So it is the right time we can plan."

The meeting was followed by a session for public comment; when only one newspaper reporter and one community activist came, Anil Kumar was disappointed at the low turnout but still felt the day was a good start. A document was issued following the meeting with recommendations for future action (MSSRF: 2004a; see Appendix 12). The meeting was intended to be the first of several gatherings where, as Anil Kumar put it, "we should all sit together [the private people, the government people] and develop the elements... [So] no person is exploited."

Issues brought out in the meeting

As with my other research participants who make their livelihoods through tourism activities, the issue of authenticity was prominent. However, it manifests itself differently in this group of people who are not just concerned with employment but also care about how development issues affect people. Thus, the strongest theme that can be

drawn out of the lengthy transcript and subsequent notes from the day long session is the importance of having the local community benefit directly and indirectly from any tourism activities. The final draft of the proceedings from MSSRF (2004a: 1) stated:

> The World Tourism Organisation recognized the kind of tourism that involves traveling to relatively undisturbed areas with specific objective of studying, admiring and enjoying the ecosystem and the existing biological and cultural diversity as "Ecotourism" (Mohanthy 1999). Though this kind of tourism concept envisages the involvement of local communities, it is silent when it comes on (sic) the kind of their involvement and sharing of benefits/profits with them.

Accepting that benefit to the local community is the most important outcome of tourism, the question becomes, what form does that benefit take and how can it be sustained? The statement continues, "[t]ourism of more scientific design in ecologically rich areas with the involvement of local communities who nourish such diversity should get more focus when human development options are considered (2004a: 1).

It is important to note the meaning to Keralites of the terms, "science" and "scientific". Shrum and Ramanathaiyer (2000: 164) write:

> Science is esteemed in Kerala...perhaps the most common rhetorical tactic used by representatives of a multitude of groups is to condemn a policy or practice as 'unscientific'...In one sense, the respect accorded to science, scientific knowledge and scientific claims is encouraging...But in another, many of uses represent the worst kind of scientism, an assumption that to say something is 'science' is equivalent to saying it is 'true'...But there is another sense in which 'science' is placeholder for 'valid', the one in which local technological change is regarded as sustainable, authentic and sound.

Thus, "science" is a much broader concept, offering immediate credibility, yet it also encompasses knowledge of a traditional nature, i.e., knowledge of the medicinal quality of plants which Anil Kumar described as "somebody's knowledge."

By understanding how Keralites appropriate the term, scientific, their concern for "tourism of a more scientific design" establishes the ground for the other important issue to come out of the session: recognition that mediation is required between preserving the local wisdom that arises out of tradition and attaching value to authenticity for both the local community and the tourists. Mr. Prasanth, who works in a consulting capacity with the Government of India and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) to explore tourism's potential in rural areas said,

> ...the very first thing we understood is that tourism is not the focus. Tourism should be always a fall out of what is happening in a village or rural population and tourism should be the outcome. People should go experience the village and that is precisely what we call tourism.

What this means, in part, is that without a focus on authenticity, activities that draw tourists can become pseudo traditions done merely for monetary gain and can result in real damage to a community or its surrounding environment. Mr. Prasanth told a story.

> We used to have this elephant procession and finally...[it] was taken up by the World Wildlife Organization and they told the government not to do that in the name of tourism...in the traditional time this procession was taking place when the elephants [were] healthy. Now, if you take the elephant in the name of a festival it is bad for the elephants, it is not for displaying things. But, display it in a positive way. When the season is there, [then] let tourists come.

Mr. Venkitachalam (see Appendix Five) is equally concerned with authenticity when he commented, "unless we develop tourism linking it with village, what we were doing is doing something without a soul...As Gandhi-ji rightly said, 'the soul of India lies in village.'" He commented that when festivals are removed from villages and run by the government (which has been the case with the celebration of Onam, a major festival occurring in late August-early September), something is lost in the meaning of the tradition. He continued by telling a story about the kind of tourism he imagines.

> Let me narrate one incident, written by one of our very well known writers in Malayalam. He has written an article, about one instance, a foreigner came to Kerala to...a very well known place. There is a big temple and tower. [Someone] was performing a dance. The foreigner was not allowed to go inside the temple because of the customs and all. So the foreigner was watching it from outside. The person was performing the traditional art. There was no audience. The foreigner who came from Spain, he knows about the dance and all. He had read some books...After seeing this, the reporter [the foreigner] went to dancer... 'you performed it all with perfection. All tradition without losing anything. But there was no audience.' The performer who was a well known person said, 'you forgot one thing, there was a traditional lamp in front of me.' That is the culture ...that should be developed for tourism.

Mr. Venkitachalam and Mr. Prasanth represent two perspectives expressed throughout the day that preservation and protection of culture and the traditional knowledge of the people are necessary if the local community is going to benefit from the activities.

Sustaining authenticity is constantly being challenged however as traditions run up against modern ways. Mr. Prasanth told another story.

> I went to a place...in Andrah Pradesh. Traditionally, they are very good wooden carvers. And to my surprise, when I went, there are only two families remaining in the traditional business of wood carving. Reasons are: nobody wants that kind of carving anymore. Second, the market economy gives better jobs for the people, so a parent will never appreciate his son doing that. He will look at some government job, or something...The third is whoever has mastered this art has been taken over by Bangalore developing market because these people are skillful and the skill can be put in a different sector of business altogether. So, instead of work...[in their home village] the developers have found that...[the families] can go to Bangalore. So they have taken the entire families and put in Bangalore. So, only two families remaining in that village.

The pressure villagers feel to adopt modern ways comes from urban market forces as they have increasing access to knowledge about these ways of life. Mr Prasanth continued:

> Now the problem...we are talking about a highly urbanized, materialistic life in cities...we have blaring music going on, we have a lot of investment going on and telling them this is the right thing to do. And how do you expect—when we are sucked into that kind of market pressure, how do we expect a village to say, 'no, no...this is better off. We

> are not going to follow that.' This information has been so strongly driven. You go to any of the rural background, the main street is almost urbanized. The upper class always mimic what is happening in the urban areas, in a very shoddy way. Because the technology is not available but he is trying to mimic. So, you can see the rural background being highly contaminated physically, on the street level basis...

This same market pressure is what is also bringing tourists to villages. They bring with them an expectation that they will see/experience traditions and culture that are different from their own. Mr. Divakaran (see Appendix Five) shared with the group a note he had received from his nephew, living in Canada but spending the year in India, responding to Mr. Divakaran's question of what he expected out of eco-tourism in India.

> First, responsible travel to nature areas that concerns the environment and improves well being of the local people. Second point, accommodation that represents the local culture, in a natural setting, but that does not disrupt the natural landscape. Staff, local people who are highly knowledgeable about local wildlife, local people and the history of the area. Some kind of interaction between tribes and tourists that helps understanding what everyday life is like in the area, i.e., rural farming, making of handicrafts, etc. Another is, show tourists what benefits come from tourism to the local tribes and people...this is a really important point, I believe. A selection of local foods. Another point...Show what is being done to preserve the local environment and local way of life. The last thing, 'I want to come back home, having learnt something about the local people, the local habitat and have seen all the area has to offer. I want to know [how I have influenced] the local people in some way—whether I have helped them in some way.'

People generally agreed that a program like this would be impossible unless it comes directly from a local community. In other words, Mr. Divakaran said, "What I feel is, there should be these natural forces of development of tourism...not being forced upon [the community]...the locals have to be encouraged and the local people should benefit."

Below is my summary of the day's proceedings:

- Whatever development strategy is proposed, the benefits should be equitably shared, beneficial to all levels in the community.

- Tourism should emerge from the ongoing development of a community; it should be an outcome, not the focus.
- Tourism must be linked with villages, which are the soul of Kerala and India.
- Preservation and protection of cultural traditions is not enough; there must be some kind of value in their preservation. Value is mostly seen materially (monetarily), but it is important to recognize there is intrinsic value in preservation as well.
- This intrinsic value can only be understood through the local wisdom which is a source of sustainable development.
- It is important to identify and offset the effects of market pressure on villages that are being assimilated according to modern values.
- This same market pressure is also bringing tourism to these villages and brings an expectation from tourists that they will see traditions and culture different from their own.
- It is conceivable that the arrival of tourism causes a reclaiming of traditions that can create value (read: money) for community but it is important to mediate this effect; it can turn into a false tradition done merely for monetary gain, lacking the intrinsic value that made it a significant part of the culture.

Regardless of the concerns expressed, there was also a great deal of optimism that tourism can be a natural by-product of the strengths of this area. Mr. Abdul Kareem said,

> ...and fortunately for Kerala...I am referring to our strength in Kerala tourism industry, when it comes to Malabar, our strength is our hospitality. Maybe it is not as refined and sophisticated as in some other parts of the world, but it is there in their behavior, there in their blood...I would say if the traditional hospitality is maintained intact, that is our best strength... When I have boys from the villages especially from the Malabar and Calicut side, they turn out to be the best for the tourists...And of course nature has blessed us. It is really one of God's own countries...Kerala should be divided into 3 different sectors for tourism [Malabar, Cochin, Travancore areas]. So each can be developed with its own distinct identity, strength and let them compete with each other in healthy manner.

It was Professor Manilal, moderating the discussion, having sat throughout the morning listening to the many opinions who said, finally, "it sounds to me as if the treasures are right at our feet." It is now a matter of choosing a direction and acting with intention.

A Model for future development: "Endo-Genous Tourism"

Fortunately for this gathering, Mr. Prasanth had some experience thinking about a direction and how tourism might be enacted as an outcome rather than a focus. The

consulting he did with UNDP and the Government of India has led him to believe that the way to approach this problem is through establishment of a process of "awareness to the total environment, to the urban, to the tourist, to the villagers, in totality. We are to talk about sustainable livelihood on a different context altogether." After a lengthy presentation of the model that arose out of their research and which the government is now using to develop policy, he summarized:

> So, first is the wisdom of the people, from the local community, the opinion makers of the local community, second layer of working will be selected NGOs, and third level of program that will brought in, a layer called technology-at-hand. Sensitive people, who have the knowledge backing, will be brought into this layer to help them out with new challenges of time, because there are a lot of new challenges. So, you need computer experts probably, a sensitive ecologist, all those people who are exposed to the world scenario...finally, the facilitator comes, the collector [the government official]. Usually, the system is for the collector to come first, he comes up with the program and he pushes it...it is implemented on a higher level [without regard for the local wisdom].
>
> And we are basically calling this endo-genous tourism project. The word "endo-genous" was keyed in just for this purpose. "Endo" means "within," and "genous" means...it is taken from indigenous [meaning native to an area]...finally, it starts talking as a tourism project, we are making it as an open ended policy because each village has its own program, its own problems, its own solutions. So, we are coming up with a set of guidelines which finally can address that particular village, rather than enforcing it as a rule to the total 80% [the total Indian population in the rural areas]. It is a very open ended system and we are now writing it down. We are in the process of making that...happen...

This process imagines that by following this path the rural wisdom is central to any activities, supported by outside people, technology and government money. The intent is that the money invested stays in the "particular village [and] the economy comes up, because everybody has a chunk of it."

Mr. Prasanth shared his own perspective of what could happen in these villages and to those involved in tourism if this process is followed. By creating "awareness

interpretation centres," where "the tourists are told how to respect the area...once [they] go through [this] centre, outside he will start respecting each and every person in that rural area because the tradition is rich...and finally, the thanksgiving is from the tourist side for knowing that much." For the rural person, "the entire program of so-called development [is] from their point of view...[by organizing the opinion makers as the core team] they transfer into their community at large and they came out with a program of development from this new position." And finally, "as a consultant, I am standing in a much lower level because I know the kind of wisdom there is, it is unbelievable. They know exactly...it is just bringing in that much awareness into them which will take care of their economy." He concluded by saying,

> ...again, we are not sitting on a higher platform and we are not telling... [it's] about the selfishness. We ought to be ultimately selfish, to understand the entire ballgame. So, that is what I personally feel about the sustainable livelihood. I think tourism should be the end result, not the focus. If you can allow sustainable livelihood, community to come up in every way... Again, I am not talking about tourism at all. I am talking about...if you are intervening in any of their system, you should just take care of how value addition can be brought into their lives, how they can be themselves.

For Mr. Prasanth, the idea of ultimate or "supreme selfishness" as he had expressed it to me earlier in the day, has, as does everything, a spiritual connotation to it: when you take care of others, they take care of you. It goes beyond people—as he described it, one "apologizes to a tree just about to be cut down. It is a ritual to the environment. For my selfish interest, I ask for pardon." He said when people don't ask about the deeper meaning of an act like this and only see superstition, there is a loss of wisdom which opens a community to market forces which then leads to a loss of respect of others. If we

can learn this lesson of supreme selfishness and responsibility as Mr. Prasanth concluded, "all else will take care of itself."

Reflections

My immediate reflection at the end of the meeting, recorded in my journal, said:

> Whew! What a rich day this has turned out to be. Beyond any expectations I could have had...—Tourism should be more outcome than goal—by making it the goal, things are created artificially to attract and satisfy—what is really the issue is to be what each community already is and invite guests to participate in what already is, not some artificial replica of it.

A question that arises is how is the lifeworld of the people, particularly in an area like Malabar region that is ecologically sensitive, brought together with an international system represented by the UNWTO that sees "tourism is an increasingly important development strategy to positively address poverty reduction" (UNWTO 2004a)? My journal reflection continues:

> Hospitality is a strength of the people of this region. Refine it, develop it but recognize it has a character of its own that does not need to conform to someone else's view of what it should be (by their standard). People come here to experience what is here, not to create their world and lay it upon the area. Invited guests accept the hospitality offered.

Here is another element of the prenarrative structure of the people of this region that must be considered in order to sustain a refiguration of a different narrative. Again, in my journal, I wrote:

> The other major strength is the knowledge/documentation of the local flora and fauna... They talked about the natural environment, the rain and climate, the integrated nature of the place, sea to inland hillsides. So much natural beauty—available to those who would most appreciate it.

Here I see evidence that it is the people who matter in development, not just the things, that they are never viewed "merely as present-at-hand" (Heidegger 1962: 43).

> There's a lot more of course—but another thing that strikes me is—my request to meet with them became a catalyst for them to begin to work on an issue that has been out there for some time.

Thus, from our very different pre-understandings, we have come to *mimesis*$_3$, where "we imagine ourselves acting and inhabiting a world with indirect reference to the world of *mimesis*$_1$. There is a new possibility for living our lives and carrying out our policies when we critique our taken-for-granted world" (Herda 1999: 78-79), a process that continues as we work on the eco-tourism project together (See Chapter Seven).

What strikes me still about these proceedings is the amount of genuine care for the other, the solicitude of "leap[ing] ahead...the kind of solicitude pertains essentially to authentic care...it helps the Other to become transparent *in* his care and to become *free for* it (Heidegger 1962: 122). This overwhelming sense of care is what made me realize that it must be one of my theoretical categories in order to explore it in depth.

The one disappointment I recorded later in the evening was one of Anil Kumar's—the fact that the public session was poorly attended. His disappointment comes from the fact that he "considers an essential element of a complete session [to be a well attended public session]." I recognized this issue as part of the public identity of not only the Keralites but saw it the following week as Professor Swaminathan conducted one following the National Consultation he hosted in Chennai on "Job led Economic Growth: Towards an Era of Sustainable Self Help Revolution" (MSSRF 2004b).

The work of this group is ongoing. Though details are still evolving, the same willingness and attitude will likely prevail as together they remain attentive to how value is added to the lives of local people by critically assessing the local traditions, keeping what is worth keeping while changing what must to adjust to modern realities.

Summary

This chapter presents two themes from the collected data regarding Kerala's development: the role of tourism in Kerala's development and what it takes to expand tourism in an authentic Keralan manner for the well-being of the Keralan people. These themes are explored generally in the state and then in one particular region of Kerala, the Malabar Coast.

As Dr. Nata Duvvury told me, Kerala satisfies the main conditions so that tourism of a different kind can flourish, the "combination of natural beauty and a very literate human resource." It is also clear that as a state, Kerala has set tourism at the center of a "services-led growth strategy." However, other concerns and priorities in the state mean that expansion of tourism is not central to the public debate. Meanwhile, local people are responding to the growing number of tourists by offering activities that highlight the state's culture and traditions, struggling to mediate authenticity with monetary reward.

In the Malabar Coast region of Kerala a local group envision bringing tourism to their region as an outcome of ongoing development of their communities rather than a sole focus. They affirm the importance of local tradition and local wisdom while acknowledging a market pressure that not only brings modern ideas to local people but also tourists who wish to experience traditions and cultures different than their own. They agree that any tourism development that is supported by outside professionals, technology and money must respect and work directly with people of the local community, always seeking to support development opportunities from their perspective. The "endo-genous tourism" model offers one process by which such locally oriented development activities can be supported and realized, showing that the difference

between cultures can be a productive horizon for critically assessing what is worth keeping in local traditions while creating space for change that modern ways of life bring.

Kerala, with its recognition that authenticity is central to its approach to welcoming tourism is in a position, as Rist (2002: 244) puts it,

> ...to organize its existence as it sees fit, outside the system now in place, by limiting the role of economics, giving up the accumulation of material goods, encouraging creativity and ensuring that decisions are taken by those directly concerned. The idea...is to organize and invent new ways of life—between modernization, with its sufferings but also some advantages, and a tradition from which people may derive inspiration while knowing that it can never be revived.

In other words, by critically assessing tradition in relation to modernity the people of Kerala have the opportunity and the ability to configure a new narrative of development.

Bernstein (1983: 160) however warns, "[w]ithout some sort of theoretical understanding and explanation...there is always the real danger that *praxis* will be ineffectual...Informed action requires us to try to understand and explain the salient characteristics of the situations we confront." The next chapter takes up the challenge of discovering a deeper plot configuring these data and critical hermeneutic theory.

Chapter Epilogue: World Tourism Organization's Policy Forum

After returning from India I scheduled a research trip to Washington DC to meet with colleagues and contacts of Dr. Stephen Commins at the World Bank (see Appendix Five). At the same time, I found out about a policy forum that was being held at The George Washington University (GWU) by the World Tourism Organization, since 2003, a specialized agency of the United Nations (thus the use of the acronym, UNWTO to distinguish it from the World Trade Organization). The forum was entitled, "Tourism's Potential as a Sustainable Development Strategy" (UNWTO 2004a). It seemed to be a

topic that would be directly applicable to my work on my dissertation so I arranged to meet with Dr. Donald Hawkins, the Eisenhower Professor of Tourism Policy at GWU who, as head of the Education Council for the UNWTO, was organizing the event. I asked if I might attend the two-day forum. After some conversation about my research in India, he agreed and thought I would be helpful to them as part of the staff of the forum, assisting GWU students to document the proceedings, which I gladly agreed to do.

The two days of meetings were enlightening in the sense that I was able to glimpse the workings of an international agency as it laid out its vision for working with developing countries based on its association with the United Nations and its desire to support the Millennium Development Goals through its initiative, ST-EP, Sustainable Tourism—Eliminating Poverty. I also heard about many programs with good intentions, even great ones. Yet, I still left the Forum feeling strangely out of touch with its orientation. Below is a portion of a journal entry which reflects how I felt directly after attending the Forum (see Appendix 17 for the complete journal entry).

> When I left [the Forum], it occurred to me...[I am not the same as the people attending this Forum]... We speak differently for sure; I believe there is a sense of care that has [sic] some part of what motivates them but it's clouded by the business oriented language—I mean, yes, tourism is business. But I certainly heard one person yesterday say that as the WTO has joined the UN, it changes their perspective. I'm not sure anyone else there recognizes it—and what the implications are as a result. To me, they seem enormous—moving into development—but doing it by overlaying their business models on the poor in the communities. Yes, there was resounding call for local ownership but not a lot of specifics that showed they too must change—the expert model—that's what they are advocating and it's likely that's why I felt so terribly out of sync. And there's no orientation to *want* to reach a new understanding—there's no awareness. And they are already unleashed on the world.

It is important to say that although the above entry is my general response and expresses my overriding feelings to what I saw and heard, there were many good, even

great activities that were reported as part of the forum. For example, a number of people talked about environmental concerns, how tourism affects local habitats and how that can be best mediated. However, with an expert's perspective as the prevailing model of communication there was little public space for any real dialogue between the experts and the people who are the stewards of the places to be visited. This is often the nature of this kind of gathering, but I left the Forum wondering: How does one fully engage the other if we aren't also willing to be changed by the encounter?

It is still my firm belief that a critical hermeneutic orientation provides that new perspective that acknowledges that we only know ourselves in relationship with others, that encourages an understanding that identity oscillates between a claim of sameness and a need for flexibility and which demands that we mediate our technical know-how with a value commitment toward the work. And yet, what this UNWTO Forum showed me is that there is little opening for a conversation to occur, little opportunity to learn about the other because it is a world apart, with action mediated by technical language and the delinguistified media of money and power. In Chapter Six I further explore this dilemma as these same data are told otherwise.

CHAPTER SIX: DATA ANALYSIS
QUESTIONING DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

Kerala has been described, as earlier stated, as a "human development puzzle" (Lieten 2002: 47). Mr. Balakrishnan expressed a similar sentiment to me when he said, "we are in certain aspects... a first world country. But economically, we are very much a third world country. But the aspirations of the people, you could say, are comparable to the first world." Tourism can become "the most important sector for the socioeconomic development and environmental protection of the State" (State Planning Board 2003: 201) in the midst of this "puzzle" of strong social development and an economic environment that is weak by most standards of measurement.

Description of Kerala's development seems inadequate however. Heidegger (1996: 35) tells us, "[t]he character of description...can be established only from the 'material content' of what is 'described,' that is, of what is to be brought to scientific determinateness in the way phenomena are encountered." To disclose something deeper, to discover the primordial nature, the essence of Kerala's development, one must move from description toward further scrutiny. And yet the task of disclosure is hindered by the fact that to understand its primordial nature, it "remains hidden...gets covered up again or... show itself only 'in disguise'" (Heidegger 1962: 35). This task is made even more complex when we accept that the dynamic nature of development means it is always coming into being. It is little wonder to me that current models of development that are descriptive in nature attract many more educators and practitioners.

Throughout my work on this dissertation, I have been guided by the idea that, "at its deepest level life is not a problem but a mystery. The distinction...is fundamental:

problems are to be solved, true mysteries are not" (Simmons 2002: 8). This idea has given me the freedom to think about socioeconomic development outside the current, economically driven paradigm in which it exists. As Rist (2002: 246) points out, "one cannot denounce 'the crisis of development studies' or deplore 'the failure of development' and at the same time continue to think within a paradigm that is at its last gasp." I have chosen critical hermeneutic theory as a different paradigm through which to approach understanding possibilities in Kerala's development.

This chapter proceeds to explore the relationship between personal and community identity and tourism as one medium for socioeconomic development. Using Habermas's (1984, 1987) theory of the differentiation of system and lifeworld, the analysis then configures the actions of a local community, Kerala's state government, international and local tourism professionals and an NGO mediating the public and private spheres. This theory gives a new perspective regarding the necessity of grounding tourism in the lifeworld of a community, even in the face of tourism's actions oriented toward success. This grounding becomes possible as a deeper meaning of development is revealed—that care is the essence of socioeconomic development.

Personal and Community Identity

My premise in this work is that identity is known through narratives. If I am questioning the place of identity in development work, then it stands to reason that listening to stories is an important part of my research; indeed, it has been. Sprinkled throughout the last chapter were many of the stories I heard that led me to believe I had some idea of who the people of Kerala are. There are personal stories, like the story of Mr. Babu Varghese who first recognized opportunity in transforming the old cargo boats

into the tourism product of houseboats. There are also publicly accepted stories about Kerala, i.e., the vignettes from *Moments When You Know There's a God* (Balan and Swarup 2004). There are also community stories, like the story of the community leaders coming together to imagine eco-tourism in Malabar Region.

Each of these stories is a part of another, larger, continuing story: Babu's innovation has led to employment and new life in the backwaters, the community meeting came about because of several different streams of activities and work generated from the meeting's recommendations continues to evolve. Kearney (2002: 80) writes:

> It is precisely because stories proceed from stories...that historical communities are ultimately responsible for the formation and re-formation of their own identity. One cannot remain constant over the passage of historical time—and therefore remain faithful to one's promises and covenants—unless one has some minimal remembrance of where one comes from, and of how one came to be what one is. In this sense, identity is memory.

It is through memory that we tell and re-tell the stories of who we are. Memory is "the source of the link between individual and plural [collective] identity" (Barash 1999: 34).

However, because "narrative remembrance...is not always on the side of angels" (Kearney 2002: 83), we have to be on guard that memory can not only be used but abused as well. This reminds us that "there is no ethically neutral narrative" (Ricoeur 1992: 115). Ricoeur (1999: 7-8) adds,

> ...the diseases of memory are basically diseases of identity. This is so because identity, whether personal or collective, is always only presumed, claimed, reclaimed; and because the question which is behind the problematics of identity is '*who* am I?' [w]e tend to provide responses in terms of *what* we are. We try, that is, to saturate, or to exhaust, the questions beginning with 'who' by answers in the register of 'what.' It is the fragility of all the answers in terms of 'what' to the question in terms of 'who' which is the source of the abuses of [memory] which I speak...[Because] we have to face the difficulty of preserving identity

> through time...[and t]he difficulty of being able to deal with changes through time...[these are] reason[s] why identity is so fragile.

Understanding that identities are fragile and entangled with others—Ricoeur (1992: 161) notes, "each of us is caught up in the histories of others,"—means, to see tourism as a possible solution for sustainable development in developing countries, we have to engage some new issues. It is no longer acceptable to say, as people agreed at the UNWTO Forum, "the local community must be involved." The language used at the UNWTO Forum, "ensuring good cooperation," "creating and maintaining strong partnerships," (UNWTO 2004b: 1) can be confused with the "rhetoric [used as] part of a strategic trend by international institutions to disguise interventions in political and economic reforms in sovereign states while also according to them greater legitimacy" (Crawford and Hermawan 2002: 225). Indeed, it is this very same language that concerns MSSRF (2004a:1) when they write, "[t]hough this kind of tourism concept envisages the involvement of local communities, it is silent when it comes on [sic] the kind of their involvement and sharing of benefits/profits with them."

In extreme circumstances, language like, "the local community must be involved" (UNWTO 2004b: 1) can lead to exploitation by the same entities that are attempting to be helpful, i.e., "[c]ultural critique has been orphaned by a skilful coup of its orientation and terms of reference. This seems to be a frightening aspect of cultural imperialism promoted by the capitalist market economy and globalization" (Cherian 1999: vii). In other words, the tourism industry is business focused. The industry's main concern is profitability, not helping people reach their ownmost potentiality-to-be. It is about employment, not livelihoods. As the international organization UNWTO takes on the role of development in its project ST-EP (Sustainable Tourism—Eliminate Poverty), it

needs to seek out new ways of interacting—not just "conducting business as usual" but finding ways to connect to a deeper reality of identity of a country's citizens. I posit that personal and collective identities are a fundamental component of creating "tourism of a different kind" whether it is in Kerala or in any other location where tourism is likely to expand. In the next section, I suggest a way in which connecting to deeper identities of a people is possible—through assessment of a culture's "imaginary nucleus."

Grasping the Imaginary Nucleus

As I look back at my journal and remember interactions and conversations with the people I met during my two visits to Kerala, I realize that I heard the same stories over and over again which indicate that "by retelling and recounting what has been...we acquire an identity" (Ricoeur 1995b: 222). In my conversation with Dr. Nata Duvvury, it was exciting to realize that this ability to tell and retell stories is part of what makes Kerala a good candidate for a "tourism of a different kind." This ability to tell their stories gives Keralites "a very strong sense of what they will allow and will not allow." Coupled with the "combination of natural beauty and a very literate human resource," this means conditions exist for individuals and local communities to fend off exploitation by a tourism industry. Reflecting on the data collected, this position is well supported.

I was also struck by Dr. Duvvury's comment that some of these stories are at "a certain level of mythology," and followed up and asked, if mythology, then what truth lies in them? This leads to another question: if they are mythic in nature, do they point toward the "*imaginary nucleus* of [the Keralan] culture" (Ricoeur 1995a: 236)? This is important if identity is to have a place in development because,

> ...one cannot reduce any culture to its explicit functions—political, economic and legal, etc. No culture is wholly transparent in this way.

> There is invariably a hidden nucleus which determines and rules the *distribution* of these transparent functions and institutions. It is the matrix of distribution which assigns them different roles in relation to (1) each other, (2) other societies, (3) the individuals who participate in them, and (4) nature, which stands over against them (1995a: 236).

Grasping the imaginary nucleus is difficult however because it "is only *indirectly* recognizable... not only by what is said (discourse), but also by what and how one lives (*praxis*), and thirdly...by the distribution between different functional levels of a society" (1995a: 237). By analyzing what is said, how that relates to action and what institutions support both, it may be possible to grasp the "hidden nucleus...[where] we must situate the specific identity of culture" (Ricoeur 1995a: 236).

If personal and collective identities are a fundamental component of creating "tourism of a different kind" as I posited above, then grasping the imaginary nucleus of a culture's like Kerala's is necessary work. By listening to the local stories, we can begin to discern what is different about this culture than the one we know. For example, I heard stories about how Keralites are "one hundred percent literate" so often that I started looking for hints that it might be part of the imaginary nucleus. The people of Kerala pride themselves on being one hundred percent literate, as Radhakrishnan (2004: 35) writes, "the deepest urge in Kerala society: to gain education." The State Planning Board's Economic Review (2004) has extensive sections that cover government activities in many areas of education, both formal and informal, including a section entitled "educational attainments and well-being," in the chapter on "Human Development and Socio-Economic Well-being in Kerala." I was also told by several people about the state's goal to make "at least one member of every family computer literate," described as the next stage of literacy.

Interestingly, another indicator that being literate is part of the Keralan imaginary nucleus may be the number of people who emigrate to other parts of India and the world to seek employment. By again, analyzing what is said, how that relates to action and what institutions support both, it may be possible to grasp the "hidden nucleus...[where] we must situate the specific identity of culture" (Ricoeur 1995a: 236). I heard numerous stories from my research participants about someone in their family or a friend who worked abroad. I also heard about families taking out sizable loans to give to most likely illegal "employment agencies" that promised to find employment for them. I heard one heart breaking story about a young man who gave money to an agent, went abroad and when his employer went bankrupt, found himself arrested and imprisoned unjustly. What does this tells us about the Keralan culture? One thought is that they are expected to excel, that their education opens possibilities for them even if they have to leave the state to attain them. This perspective supports Rist's (2002: 44) claim that

> [i]n every society...people try to improve their conditions of existence, and it is not for anyone to question the legitimacy of their strivings. There is nothing to indicate, however, that 'development' is the only way of achieving them, or that every society wishes to have the same thing.

There is a "darker" side to the literacy story: This story was reported in the magazine *India Today* (Radhakrishnan 2004: 35) as a part of its annual ranking of life and work across India in a short profile of Kerala.

> Rajani Anand, 22, is an unlikely mascot for Kerala's commendable gains in the field of education. The world came to know of the computer engineering student when she committed suicide on July 20...in Thiruvananthapuram. She killed herself because her parents couldn't afford her fee. Rajani's death throws light on the deepest urge in Kerala society: to gain education. Critics point out that this urge has led to stress on quantity, resulting in a pervasive fall in the standards, especially in higher education. But it is this very urge that has helped Kerala achieve high statistical indicators of development, despite low incomes.

This story is one indicator that potentially, something has "perverted the myth. This means that we can no longer approach myth *at the level of naiveté*. We must rather always view it from a critical perspective" (Ricoeur 1995a: 239). Ricoeur (1995a: 239) claims if a myth is genuine, it is a story of liberation, "as both a personal and collective phenomenon...To the extent that myth is seen as the foundation of a particular community to the absolute exclusion of all others, the possibilities of perversion...are already present." We see here the possibility of abuse of memory—when "the necessity of critical discrimination between liberating and destructive modes of reinterpretation" (1995a: 240) is not practiced—how a story can be retold and because of the fragility of identity, and in the case of a young woman's suicide, we see the fragility of life itself.

This brings us full circle to the ethical dimension of narratives because "ethical problems will arise once we begin to reflect on this connection between use and abuse of memory" (Ricoeur 1999: 5). Memory also helps in this ethical aspect because "it is always possible to tell [a story] in another way" (1999: 9). To connect to deeper identities in order to create "tourism of a different kind" raises new issues for the people of Kerala and people who desire to expand tourism there—it requires going beyond business and disguised intentions and toward critical engagement of the other.

There are two caveats in attempting to grasp the imaginary nucleus of a culture. First, we must not "interpret myth *literally*...For myth is essentially *symbolic*" (Ricoeur 1995a: 241). In this particular case of literacy, it is not a matter that Keralites are literate, that they can read but what does it mean to them that they do? By looking beyond its literal nature, we can begin to see that literacy is at the core of who the Keralites are, making them politically and socially aware providing them, as Dr. Duvvury

said, " a very strong sense of what they will allow and will not allow" in expanding tourism activities.

Because we must be on guard not to interpret myths literally, it leads to the second caveat: It is open to question whether someone outside a culture can successfully identify the imaginary nucleus because of a different orientation to the world based on a different historical situatedness. However, I believe someone outside the culture can ask questions, as Ricoeur indicates, that can provide a path for new learning, leading to a new awareness and understanding: what are people talking about, what are they saying? How does that relate to their actions? What institutions support the actions? In other words, if we are oriented toward the other and become more of a "listener rather than spectator" (Herda 1999: 54), we become familiar with the prior order of action represented by the imaginary nucleus which is the basis for new action that sustains the act of development. The ethical nature of the encounter is also revealed and people can reach the conclusion as Mr. Prasanth did, "as a consultant, I am standing in a much lower level because I know the kind of wisdom there is, it is unbelievable." In other words, everyone is changed by the encounters.

By grasping "this kernel...we may discover the foundational *mythopoetic* nucleus of society... The *mythos* of any community is the bearer of something that exceeds its own frontiers; it is the bearer of other *possible* worlds (Ricoeur 1995a: 237, 243), not just for that community but universally. It is thus at the horizon of other possible worlds where claims of universality can be made, where my own and the identity of Keralites become known to one another.

Grounding Tourism

Introduction

Establishing a basis for accepting that personal and collective identities are a fundamental component of creating "tourism of a different kind" in Kerala was the intent of the last section. These personal and collective identities are known through narratives. Habermas (1987: 136), in his work on the theory of communicative action would concur, saying, that a "[n]arrative practice not only serves trivial needs for mutual understanding among members trying to co-ordinate their common tasks; it also has a function in the self-understanding of persons." Ingram (1987: 116) continues:

> Narratives—including the most primitive myths—unify personal life histories around shared events, thereby contributing to the maintenance of social and individual identity. They are therefore integral to the communicative functions of cultural reproduction, action coordination and socialization.

In other words, narratives are where identity is revealed and a narrative practice is essential for the reproduction of the lifeworld. Narratives play a role in symbolic reproduction (as was discussed in the section on a culture's imaginary nucleus) and social integration of the lifeworld, in both its public and private spheres. The lifeworld "contributes to the maintenance of individual and social identity by organizing action around shared values, so as to reach agreement over criticizable validity claims" (Ingram 1987: 115). The lifeworld is where narratives are told and identity is maintained.

I turn now from a focus on identity to Habermas's theory of the differentiation of lifeworld and system in which "the complexity of the [system] and the rationality of the [lifeworld] grow" (Habermas 1987: 153). This theory, part of Habermas's theory of communicative action, includes analyzing the interactions between a private sphere,

public sphere, civil society and the various political centers. By analyzing the actions of a local community and NGO, state government, and tourism professionals at local and international levels, I show that taking into account these spheres of action provides an additional perspective to narrative theory on some issues created by the expansion of tourism. In other words, considering the theory of the differentiation of lifeworld and system reveals that in order to elevate social and cultural concerns in the face of the strategic aim of tourism, action must be grounded communicatively in the lifeworld.

Reconciling the System and Lifeworld in Tourism

Tourism is an interesting case for analyzing the effects of the uncoupling of lifeworld and system because tourism activities have become more and more coordinated by the market, with system mechanisms steered by delinguistified media. Habermas (1987: 183) explains:

> The transfer of action coordination from language over to steering media means an uncoupling of interaction from lifeworld contexts. Media such as money and power attach to empirical ties; they encode a purposive-rational attitude toward calculable amounts of value and make it possible to exert generalized, strategic influence on the decisions of other participants while *bypassing* processes of consensus-oriented communication. Inasmuch as they do not merely simplify linguistic communication, but *replace* it with a symbolic generalization of rewards and punishments, the lifeworld contexts in which processes of reaching understanding are always embedded are devalued in favor of media-steered interactions; the lifeworld is no longer needed for coordination of action.

Differentiation, not inherently good or bad, is foundational to modern understanding. It not only makes transfer of action to delinguistified media possible, it also makes possible "processes of consensus formation within language" (1987: 180).

Thus, tourism, attached to the market system, falls into action oriented toward success, where "the actor is supposed to choose and calculate means and ends from the

standpoint of maximizing utility or expectations of utility. It is this model of action that lies behind decision-theoretic and game-theoretic approaches in economics [and] sociology..." (Habermas 1984: 85). Action oriented toward success, or, strategic action, is goal oriented and is contrasted with communicative action where "the actors seek to reach an understanding about the action situation and their plans of action in order to coordinate their actions by way of agreement" (1984: 86). Habermas (1984: 87-88) elaborates on strategic action.

> Here we start with at least two goal-directed acting subjects who achieve their ends by way of an orientation to, and influence on, the decisions of other actors. Success in action is also dependent on other actors, each of whom is oriented to his own success and behaves cooperatively only to the degree that this fits with his egocentric calculus of utility. Thus strategically acting subjects must be cognitively so equipped that for them not only physical objects but decision-making systems can appear in the world...as regards its ontological presuppositions, [it is] a *one-world concept.*

The question that arises from considering this theory is how to mediate the "system mechanisms get[ting] further and further detached from the social structures through which social integration takes place" (Habermas 1987: 154) so tourism is not another example of how globalization

> ...without borders erodes political power by forcing it to follow the market, and worsens the lot of workers-consumers by make their possibilities (or conditions) of employment dependent upon criteria of the 'virtual economy'...[where] the center of gravity is nowhere at all—at once 'offshore' and 'out of soil' (Rist 2002: 224).

The description of strategic action fits what I observed at the international level based on the proceedings of the UNWTO Tourism Policy Forum. The general consensus is that "tourism is an increasingly important development strategy to positively address poverty reduction, economic growth, biodiversity conservation, and socio-cultural

integrity generally, as well as the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) specifically" (www.dantei.org/wto-forum/background-papers.html#Declaration). Below is an excerpt from the summary document from the Policy Forum.

> The forum opened...with keynote speeches by [UN] WTO Secretary-General Francesco Frangialli, Inter-American Development Bank President Enrique Iglesias and World Bank Vice-President James Adams. All three speakers stressed that properly managed tourism can be a powerful tool for sustainable development. But they also agreed that the complex, multifaceted nature of the tourism industry presents special management challenges for donor agencies as well as governments. Some challenges identified were ensuring cooperation and communication among the diverse tourism development stakeholders and developing analytical measurement tools to evaluate the success or failure of sustainable tourism development projects (www.dantei.org/wto-forum/background-papers.html).

Phases like "ensuring cooperation" and "developing analytical measurement tools to evaluate the success or failure" show clearly the strategic nature of tourism activities. Aside from the agreement of the three speakers, there is no attempt to "coordinate their actions by way of agreement" (Habermas 1984: 86) with those in countries where tourism might develop, which would be prevalent in communicative action.

In Kerala, there was agreement among the three individuals with whom I spoke who work in state government that "the biggest problem that Kerala is facing is unemployment." They also agree that tourism is an important industry because it can generate interest in the state as the leading industry in a "service-led growth strategy." In a state where there are 10.3 million workers and an unemployment rate of nearly 21%, the possibility of creating 1.4 million new jobs directly and indirectly related to tourism over the next ten years makes it an industry that demands government's attention (State Planning Board 2004: 382, 242).

This governmental attention, however necessary, is dispersed and varies in its intensity. Tourism's central authority within the Keralan government, the Ministry of Tourism, has an aggressive plan to continue pressing for expansion of tourism in the state but when I asked Mr. Balakrishnan if there is agreement in the government to follow through on the plan he said, "we were almost leading toward that kind of a consensus." Dr. Thomas Isaac, a key person in the opposition in the Assembly, felt the issues raised by the potential of expanding tourism are important to debate, but in the context of other pressing issues, it is unlikely this debate will take place. This absence of debate opens the door for tourism to have "strategic influence...while bypassing processes of consensus-oriented communication... replacing [them] with a symbolic generalization of rewards and punishments" (Habermas 1987: 183). In other words, because tourism affects many different parts of the state's infrastructure, economy, people and environment, this apparent lack of consensus leads to inaction on the part of the state government to regulate tourism activities and thus removes an important player in the mindful expansion of tourism that is respectful of both culture and environment.

Meanwhile, on the local level, private individuals and organizations proceed to develop tourism products to satisfy the anticipated and already existing needs. Mr. Benny Thomas (see Appendix Five) told me about new products he was developing for the domestic market: as young Indians have more disposable income, they are beginning to take holidays in areas like Kerala. Ajai Kumar K.S., after working in the tourism industry for nine years as a guide and following in the footsteps of his "old boss" Babu Varghese, told me about his desire to create his own tourism company, offering an experience of the "authentic Kerala." A meeting with community leaders and M.S.

Swaminathan Research Foundation (MSSRF) in Calicut was focused on the prospects of eco-tourism for an entire region.

Even if the state government has conflicting priorities related to a debate of tourism's influence, because of the People's Campaign, the "decentralization-for-development experiment" (Krishnakumar 2003), a great deal of decision making ability resides in the local communities. This is one way in which Kerala has been structured to prevent a "colonization of the lifeworld" by the system where "domains of action that fulfill economic and political functions...[are] converted over to steering media" (Habermas 1987: 322). Thus, the local community and individuals are situated to keep the cultural and environmental issues central to the deliberations on expanding tourism. This position agrees with the basic insight that guided the creation of the "endo-genous" tourism model, the model upon which Mr. Prasanth consulted, that following the local wisdom of community leaders and opinion makers, supported by outside people (typically NGOs), technology and government money, is the best way to approach tourism as an outcome rather than focus for the rural areas of India, including Kerala.

Another important aspect of grounding tourism in the lifeworld is the role played by civil society which includes nongovernmental organizations like MSSRF and the independent media which has a strong presence in south India, particularly Kerala. According to Kannan (2000: 51):

> At least one newspaper or periodical copy is available for every five persons or every three adults in Kerala. This statistic, however, gives us no idea of the reading habits of the population. Given the high level and pace of social and political activism in Kerala, the habit of reading is quite widespread...This is the cumulative result of a historical process of social and political mobilization of the masses in general and the poorer sections in particular. It is perhaps for this reason that the first and second places for the largest circulation newspapers in Indian languages are [in Kerala].

Working together with the media, Professor Swaminathan and the foundation that bears his name are an exemplary example of the type of nongovernmental organization that Habermas (1998: 367) says is "attuned to how societal problems resonate in the private life spheres, distill and transmit such reactions in amplified forms to the public sphere." At the two events that I attended in the eight days that I worked with MSSRF, each had a public session for the press and anyone from the public who wished to attend. The sessions were held at the close of the day to report the work that had transpired. They were held in the local language to make them accessible to the widest number of people versus in English, which was the primary language of the meetings. Though I am unaware of any newspaper articles that came out following the meeting in Calicut, the symposium I attended in Chennai was well covered.

Holding public sessions is clearly a part of the culture of MSSRF, evidenced not only by the fact that they occur but also by the disappointment expressed by Dr. Anil Kumar when the session following the Calicut meeting was poorly attended. It is also clear that MSSRF aims to influence the public sphere through its work, exemplifying the best of the organizations in civil society. Habermas writes (1998: 369-370):

> Actors who know they are involved in the *common* enterprise of reconstituting and maintaining structures of the public sphere as they contest opinions and strive for influence differ from actors who merely use forums that already exist. More specifically, actors who support the public sphere are distinguished by the *dual orientation* of their political engagement: with their programs, they directly influence the political system, but at the same time they are also reflexively concerned with revitalizing and enlarging civil society and the public sphere as well as with confirming their own identities and capacities to act.

This dual orientation is at the heart of what MSSRF is as an organization. In the words of Professor Swaminathan's biography (Gopalkrishnan 2002: 7, 50-51),

> ...he is rooted in [India's] history and culture and religious philosophy and yet very much a product of her modern scientific temperament. He has made it his mission in life to bring together tradition and modernity to foster a movement of hope and peace by eradicating hunger and poverty, for mankind to live in harmony with nature...When in 1987, [he] was named the first recipient of the World Food Prize...with the money the prize brought, [h]e used it as seed money for the Research Foundation he established...in Chennai, whose purpose is to bring new technologies like space and nuclear and information sciences to the aid of poor farm men and women...

The work of the foundation is well respected throughout India in large part because of the professor's prestige and reputation. As Anil Kumar said related to the work on imagining eco-tourism begun in Calicut, "a person like Swaminathan is with us. Swaminathan can influence even national policy, so if we can develop some very clear recommendations and guidelines, we can ask Swaminathan to push further." When this kind of reputation "or moral authority enters in, action coordination has to be brought about by means of resources familiar from consensus formation in language" (Habermas 1987: 183). Influence through media like professional reputation (and value commitment) keeps the coordination of action embedded in the lifeworld rather than "'deworlded' coordination of action that is unhinged from communicatively established consensus [that] does not require that participants be responsible actors" (1987: 184). This insight is of importance for any organization wishing to be involved in the development of sustainable tourism activities and particularly for one like the UNWTO which is seeking to "eliminate poverty through sustainable tourism" (UNWTO 2004b).

Conclusion

In considering the theory of the differentiation of lifeworld and system, this section reveals that in order to create a "tourism of a different kind," the intent of all my research participants in Kerala, it must be grounded in the lifeworld where symbolic

reproduction and social integration occur. This means that to elevate social, cultural and environmental concerns in the face of the strategic aim of tourism, communicative action is required, not merely action steered through delinguistified media like money or power. This requires that Keralites resist the pull toward a solely economic and publicly administered approach to the expansion of tourism—a difficult challenge considering the government's concern regarding unemployment. A hope for this kind of tourism is the interest of MSSRF and its relationships in the communities ripe for development of eco-tourism in the Malabar Region. MSSRF is the kind of nongovernmental organization that can have long lasting effect not only because they reside in the same locality but because their sense of being is to "impart a pro-nature, pro-poor and pro-woman orientation to a job-led economic growth strategy" (MSSRF website). It is this combination of orientation and action grounded in authentic caring for the other that I explore next.

Care: The Primordial Nature of Development

Introduction

I posit that personal and collective identities are a fundamental component of creating "tourism of a different kind" because awareness of identity is central to knowing what one values and thus what a community will allow in the transaction of tourism. I further propose that tourism must be grounded in the lifeworld where social integration occurs so that in the face of tourism's strategic, business nature, social, cultural and environmental concerns can be raised and acted upon. For these thoughts to be more than theory, to influence *praxis*, it is important to ask some new questions, going beyond "a vague, average understanding" (Mulhall 1996: 13) of tourism as development toward what is the essence of development as manifested in tourism. This next section delves

into a third category of analysis, care, in anticipation of elevating solicitude to the "how" of development to mediate the efficiency of the "what" with the hope of seeing development in terms of people and not of things (Nyerere in Smith 1998/2002: 3).

The "Oneness" of Care

In my two visits to the State of Kerala in 2004, I came to see and understand why people want to come to Kerala—it is a beautiful place with some of the most hospitable people I have met. My journal is filled with a sense of gratitude and awe, remembering the kindnesses offered to me day after day by everyone with whom I came into contact. I am also intrigued by the many opinions which were offered as to how Kerala can invite tourists to enjoy its beauty and the "special people" who inhabit it while also retaining the best of its traditions and protecting its natural environment. As Dr. Duvvury said, Kerala has "that combination of natural beauty and a very literate human resource...the two conditions for tourism [of a different kind] to really develop in a place."

My interpretation of the data collected in Kerala is that the expansion of tourism has received careful consideration from 1985 when it was initially viewed as a serious opportunity for development. This consideration is demonstrated from the "Tourism Awareness Campaign" which was designed to help people see tourism "as an economic activity...[and] a window to the world for young people...[not] tourism equals sex" to the marketing of the state as "God's Own Country" and an "insistence [that tourism offerings are] the real authentic thing and not allowing things to pass for authentic." In Heideggerian terms these actions show,

> *Dasein's* existence as thrown projection fallen into the world. *Dasein's* thrownness (exemplified in its openness to states-of-mind) shows it to be already in a world; its projectiveness (exemplified in its capacity for understanding) shows it to be at the same time ahead of itself, aiming to

> realize some existential possibility; and its fallenness show it to be preoccupied with the world. This overarching tripartite characterization reveals the essential unity of *Dasein's* Being to be what Heidegger calls *care* (Mulhall 1996: 111).

In the sense of care that Heidegger offers, Keralites cannot fail to deal with the world they inhabit; it is a fact of their existence. By choosing however to consider carefully the expansion of tourism as a social and economic opportunity, Keralites are engaged in their world based on care in a positive, supportive mode, not an indifferent or deficient one.

I want to clarify that at first, my understanding of the relationship between the positive, supportive mode of care and an indifferent, deficient mode was as a duality. In the sense that Etienne Wenger (1998: 66) describes it, "a duality is a single conceptual unit that is formed by two inseparable and mutually constitutive elements whose inherent tension and complementarity give the concept richness and dynamism." In other words, as a duality, care encompasses both modes, supportive and indifferent or deficient, as the essence of being in the world. Duality gives greater analytical strength to the terms that Heidegger offers us: for example, inauthenticity is not a lesser version than authenticity, rather, "it is the case that even in its fullest concretion *Dasein* can be characterized by inauthenticity... [t]here must be inauthenticity...so that *Dasein*...can strive to return to authentic being" (Steiner 1989: 98, 99). In other words, the commercialization of Keralan traditions for tourism, the possibility of making quick money, causes also a striving to be authentic because we are so easily drawn toward inauthenticity.

Wenger's term "duality" may be only of limited value because description as Heidegger (1962: 35) says "can be established only from the 'material content' of what is described." To appropriate deeper meaning of care as the essence of being, I turned to Hindu Vedāntan thought and its central teaching, called "non-duality," or "*advaita*."

According to Hamilton (2001: 127):

> The *advaita*...denotes an interpretation of the Upanishads [from 900-500 B.C.E., text giving interpretation of the Vedas, the earliest known hymns, ritual texts of India from 1500-500 B.C.E. (Torwesten 1991: 230)] that gives a 'non-dual,' or monistic, ontology. Everything is Brahman. It follows from this that one's self, ātman, is also Brahman: hence the famous expression 'ātman is Brahman'...Brahman is an unchanging absolute essence. All plurality is only apparent, not actual. This does not mean, however, that it is correct to state that the plurality of the empirical world is absolutely unreal or nonexistent. Rather, it is of only 'conventional' reality.

Torwesten (1991: 45) adds, however, "[a]s a result of later developments in religion and philosophy...we have become so accustomed to tearing everything apart that it is hard for us now to appreciate this most ancient intuitive insight of the oneness of all that there is." An idea like non-duality has a sense of being "primitive, that is, still undifferentiated" (1991: 45), but for me, this insight can exist alongside a modern, differentiated world if I remember Heidegger's (1962: 35) words:

> What is it that phenomenology is to 'let us see'?...Manifestly, it is something that proximally and for the most part does *not* show itself at all: it is something that lies *hidden*, in contrast to that which proximally and for the most part does show itself; but at the same time it is something that belongs to what thus shows itself, and it belongs to it so essentially as to constitute its meaning and its ground (Heidegger 1962: 35).

Something hidden and yet it so essentially constitutes meaning. This thinking is a shift in perspective which pushes toward a new appropriation of reality. In the context of development, thinking in this way makes it impossible to focus only on the rich getting richer without also considering that at the same time, the poor are part of the same world, "suffer[ing] in circumstances they did not make" (Ricoeur 1984: 55). Or as Professor Swaminathan (n/d) expresses it, "the test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who

have little."

Thus, orienting ourselves toward care as expressed in both supportive and indifferent or deficient modes, gives us strength analytically to assess the actions taken by the Keralites in support of or with disregard for the state and its people, as well the actions of the other players involved in the tourism industry. For example, the story about Babu Varghese creating houseboats for tourists became a new form of work for the boatmen who had otherwise lost their livelihood. It was not only lucrative as a business idea but as Cheryl Bentley (n/d) reports,

> Babu is reawakening the locals' pride in their tradition. Through his insistence that all houseboats be furnished in pure Keralan style and his tourists be fed local produce, which they themselves can choose and bargain for at waterside villages, with banana leaves as plates, and fingers taking the place of forks, per the local custom (Keralans say the sense of touch adds an additional enhancement to the food), they have discovered the wonders of their own heritage. Jaded by a steady diet of 5-star hotels, tourists are enchanted with the peaceful tour of the backwaters.

Care is "'the primordial state of being' of *Dasein* as it strives toward authenticity" (Steiner 1989: 101). In other words, care is what compels us away from inauthenticity and toward authenticity, the seeking of ownmost possibility. In this case, it is Babu's solicitude "*leaping ahead*...not in order to take away...'care' but rather to give it back... authentically for the first time" (Heidegger 1962: 122). His concern is shown in his insistence to offer local food in the traditional Keralan style while making innovations in another tradition, the use of *Kettuvallom* as houseboats, to bring them back to life.

The difficult challenge facing Keralites is the further expansion of the houseboats "to one thousand by 2007," as I was told by Joshi P. George. The supportive mode of solicitude and concern that Babu has shown in his nurturing of the houseboats, "'my babies,' as he calls them" (Bentley n/d), has already, as Ajai Kumar K.S said, given way

to "people...using plastic and all. The meaning is gone." In part, because of this indifference, new restrictions are required in the form of licenses and categorization of the houseboats, but, as Mr. Balakrishnan said, "we do not want to go the whole inspector/ permit license route...we would like to have...a self-regulating body for the industry ...consist[ing] of both industry and government." Similar regulation has already been implemented in relation to ayurvedic treatments but ongoing self regulation is dependent upon an industry and government that recognizes authentic need for socioeconomic well being, as Babu and professional ayurvedic practitioners do, and how that is different from a commoditization or commercialization of the experience of houseboats or of ayurveda. The fact remains however, "[t]here must be inauthenticity...so that *Dasein*, thus made aware of its loss of self, can strive to return to authentic being... Via the inauthenticity of its being-in-the-world, *Dasein* is compelled to search out the authentic" (Steiner 1989: 98, 99). What compels *Dasein* to search is the essence of being, care.

The question arises, how can the quality of care demonstrated by Babu be sustained? How can, for example, the Kathakali dancers resist compromise in their art while still making it their own? In the face of the western model of development and the fact that inauthenticity is "[a] necessary component of existence" (Steiner 1989: 98), how do Keralites maintain their awareness that the positive mode of solicitude is essential to resist the pull toward a solely economic approach to tourism? In other words, if care is the essence of *Dasein* and it is also the primordial nature of development, what can it disclose about approaches to socioeconomic development in Kerala?

The meeting of community leaders that I attended in Calicut sponsored by MSSRF offers one model that recognizes solicitude as central to development activities.

This group was not only optimistic about how tourism can generate employment but also cared about how it would affect the character, the identity of the communities. This joint concern for development and authenticity was best expressed by Mr. Prasanth who said, referring to his work with the Government of India and UNDP, "the very first thing we understood is that tourism is not the focus. Tourism should be always a fall out of what is happening in a village or rural population." This perspective shows a respect and care for the people who are to be the beneficiaries of the tourism activities.

This perspective gives new meaning to Heidegger's (1962: 43, 42) words, "*Dasein* does not have the kind of Being which belongs to something merely present-at-hand within the world...To entities such as these [present-at-hand]...their Being can be neither a matter of indifference to them, or the opposite." This means that development of "tourism as an outcome rather than focus" offers a perspective oriented toward what people feel, think and believe about tourism as a viable development activity and how it helps them to seek their "ownmost possibility." Thus, development practiced in this way offers a solicitude of not

> ...so much leap[ing] in for the Other...[that] pertains for the most part to our concern for ready-to-hand...[but] leap[ing] ahead of him in his existentiell potentiality-for-Being, not in order to take away his 'care' but rather to give it back to him authentically as such for the first time (1962: 122).

Orienting thinking this way creates a possibility of emphasizing development toward people rather than things, recognizing "the presentness and mystery of Being itself, of Being as it transfigures beings" (Steiner 1989: 100). In other words, we are oriented to respect the dignity and identity of each person.

An implication of this perspective toward development that depends on Heidegger's work on care is that it does not help us to understand our temporal location because its "fundamental time...[is a] temporality directed toward the future and toward death" (Ricoeur 1988: 120). This is Heidegger's (1962: 380) position because, as he writes, "*Dasein* can *never* be past, not because *Dasein* is non-transient, but because it essentially can never be *present-at-hand.* Rather, if it is, it exists. A *Dasein* which no longer exists, however, is not past...it is rather '*having-been-there.*'" It is through Ricoeur's exploration of the trace, the "vestige that a human being...has left on the place where it passed," in which the relationship between the time of care and ordinary time leads to an appropriation of the "historical character of *Dasein*" where past, present and future are bridged (Ricoeur 1988: 119, 122).

Understanding our temporal location in relation to the Other is important because "Being is revealed authentically...through the temporal horizon of *Dasein* as it is lived towards its final possibility of death and so remains open to the otherness of Being" (Kearney 1994: 36). In other words,

> ...an authentic confrontation with death reveals *Dasein* as essentially thrown projection, its relation to its own Being at once holding open the possibility, and imposing the responsibility, of living a life that is both genuinely individual and genuinely whole—a life of integrity, of authenticity (Mulhall 1996: 12).

In acts of development, to engage authentically our being-toward-death means orienting ourselves toward, as Mr. Prasanth expressed it, a "supreme selfishness"—taking care of others is caring for oneself. *Dasein* thus acts "upon the knowledge that it is authentically itself only when, as concernful Being-alongside (entities) and solicitious Being-with (others), it projects itself upon its ownmost potentiality-for-Being rather than

upon the possibility of the they-self" (1996: 120). A "we relationship" (Ricoeur 1988: 114) results from this care as we "tell painful stories of shared suffering that sometimes create deeper identities than success" (Bellah et al. 1996: 155). It is in this kind of sharing of stories and configuring them together where we build relationships and the possibility of appropriating a new orientation toward socioeconomic development.

One perspective that I have not represented yet in this analysis is that of the tourist. Dr. Nata Duvvury had expressed that what is fundamental about tourism is that "there is the outsider coming in and viewing something as the object whether it is a culture, whether it is a place, whether it is a population...[a] viewing of something that is exotic, which makes it a very different kind of interaction." It has been said numerous times that because Kerala has a literate and politically involved citizenry it is likely that it is a place where the worst kinds of exploitation can be prevented.

What is striking about her comment is that by objectifying the culture, place and population, there is at best a sense that the tourist is interacting with the Other as if present-at-hand, as a thing to be encountered, not a person. Thus, the creation of "awareness interpretation centres" which Mr. Prasanth proposed in the "endo-genous tourism" model, where "the tourists are told how to respect the area...once [they] go through [this] centre, outside he will start respecting each and every person in that rural area because the tradition is rich... finally, the thanksgiving is from the tourist side for knowing that much" creates a new kind of tourist, one "who experiences, not just sees." Kerr (1996: 63) writes, "[i]t may...call for messy, labor-intensive work and require thoughtful listening by persons who are willing and able to be curious about the lives of others and to make the experiences of others an integral part of their own stories." This is

essential to creating "tourism of a different kind," where the tourist and the community come to new understandings about one another, encouraging all to seek their ownmost possibility.

Conclusion

Orienting development practices on a philosophical understanding of care is not easy work. As discussed above, it is far too common that we slip into inauthenticity which characterizes our "average Being-with-one-another" (Heidegger 1962: 121) or into a kind of solicitude where we are indifferent to the Other as *Dasein* and "*leap* in for him... In such solicitude the Other can become one who is dominated and dependent, even if this domination is a tacit one and remains hidden from him" (1962: 122). If we strive to respect the dignity of every human being, then it is worth the effort to act based on this new understanding. Otherwise, we are accepting practices and continuing to think in the current "paradigm that is at its last gasp" (Rist 2002: 246).

Engaging transformative thinking that effects change creates pain, even as it imagines a different future. However, if the "basic contention is that prevailing images of development are defective and that the standard view of its proper means and goals is erroneous" (Goulet 1973: viii), how can we not appropriate a new meaning for development which moves us to new actions? Goulet (1973: x) referring to "development ethics" continues,

> ...[it] borrows freely from the work of economists, political scientists, sociologists, planners, and spokesmen for other disciplines. Although each discipline supplies its own definition of development, ethics places all definitions in a broad framework wherein development means, ultimately, the quality of life and the progress of societies toward values capable of expression in various cultures...*How* development is gained is no less important than *what* benefits are obtained at the end of the development road...Although development can be studied as an

> economic, political, educational, or social phenomenon, its ultimate goals are those of existence itself: to provide all men with the opportunity to live full human lives.

If we continue studying and practicing development in the current paradigm which sees the world primarily from within the confines of disciplinary boundaries, our best efforts in development will continue to be oriented toward things, not people. In other words, because "[w]e tend to provide responses [to the question '*who* am I?'] in terms of *what* we are...It is the fragility of all the answers in terms of 'what' to the question in terms of 'who' which is the source of the abuses of [memory linked to identity]" (Ricoeur 1999: 8). Answering "what" for "who" is one way in which the current paradigm for development is sustained.

However, critical hermeneutics orients us differently—we have a "primary concern... with the worlds which...authors and texts open up" so we can begin to "arrive at a better understanding of ourselves" (Ricoeur 1995a: 244) and others; in other words, we are concerned with meaning. This orientation discloses solicitude not as the what of development but its how (Lévinas 2000:26), in which people are given back authentically their own care perhaps for the first time as they seek their "ownmost potentiality-for-Being" (Heidegger 1962: 122, 181).

This change in orientation opens the possibility that tourism as one medium of development in a place like Kerala is not merely focused on increasing employment or economic rewards but on how it "provide[s] all men with the opportunity to live full human lives" (Goulet 1973: x). With care as its primordial nature, development breaks through the disciplinary boundaries of current practices and "means, ultimately, the quality of life and the progress of societies toward values capable of expression in various

cultures" (1973: x). This kind of development is not possible when practices depend solely on economic markers; it is spawned from new development practices steeped in care, oriented so people can retain their identity in the course of meeting their personal, social and economic needs (Herda 2004).

Summary

Rather than accepting "a vague, average understanding" (Mulhall 1996: 13) of the meaning of development, the intent of this chapter is to go beyond description of development and to begin to uncover some of its essence which, by its nature, "get[s] covered up again or...show[s] itself only 'in disguise'" (Heidegger 1962: 35). I find myself at a new place, with a new understanding of what I initially proposed when I sought to find the place of identity in development work—that there are some significant changes in orientation toward development that when accomplished, result in a place for identity. These changes include not only the shift in social theory that Habermas (1984, 1987) proposes in his theory of communicative action but are also based on appropriating a philosophical understanding of care as Heidegger (1962) and Ricoeur (1984, 1988) offer. These two critical stances open space for the disclosing of identity through narratives where we come to know ourselves only in relationship with others. Identity does not present itself first in development but is integral to our being-with in the world.

When we accept that personal and community identity oscillates between a claim of sameness and a need for flexibility, we understand development as authentic when it is claimed from within and not merely imposed from without, which changes the way we think about and act in development. In the next chapter I explore the implications of this new understanding related to development practice and the setting of new policies.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS QUESTIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

When I first heard Kerala's tourism marketing slogan, "God's Own Country," it evoked a number of images: certainly, if it is God's country, it must be a beautiful place and the people are lucky to live here. As a tourist, if this is where God lives, it must be a safe place for travel. These images are not accidental nor are they merely the sign of good brand marketing; Dr. Nata Duvvury said, "it's not only that this is where God lives, but also, God is here, therefore, it's a special people."

This chapter reflects my new understanding that a new orientation toward development is necessary, one in which critical hermeneutics offers a different perspective and stance than the current economically driven paradigm. Before my summary of findings, I revisit the current paradigm in light of my new understandings: by exploring the importance of a shift in orientation from the received paradigm to a new one, it is revealed that authentic development is attentiveness toward and respect of the dignity of each person. A summary of findings follows: my assessment of where the state of Kerala is as it relates to supporting the expansion of tourism and two possible areas in which policy may be affected, including ongoing work with M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation (MSSRF). Next, I indicate where future research might be fruitful. I end this chapter with a personal reflection on questions of development.

An Interlude— New Understandings regarding Development

Development: "A paradigm that is at its last gasp"

One of my interests in this work has been to suggest a different theoretical stance for informed action, the *praxis* of development. This different theoretical stance is

important because as Rist (2002: 246) writes, "one cannot denounce 'the crisis of development studies' or deplore 'the failure of development' and at the same time continue to think within a paradigm that is at its last gasp." I have believed throughout this process that critical hermeneutics offers a new orientation toward development, one in which we are oriented toward the other.

I was exposed to some current thinking about development from an educator, Dr. Inder Sud (see Appendix Five), who teaches at the George Washington University. Dr. Sud previously worked for twenty five years as an economist at the World Bank. His perspective is, "poor people, they want the same thing I want...they want higher incomes, they want their kids in school, they have the same desires as the rest of us...I am pretty sure about that." His point to me was that,

> ...poverty brings with it a lot of problems. Problems are as simple as nobody in the government office gives you the time of day...poor people understand that because they are poor, nobody pays attention to them...[they] have less power. To me, a non social scientist, I don't find that as that remarkable a phenomenon...but they certainly see their poverty interlinked with their kids not in school, their house is not made of fine materials, kids complain about not having cell phones as everybody else has cell phones and so on...it starts with income in my mind.

This economically driven perspective is the dominant view offered in most development practices and is being taught widely. Though there are some compelling elements in what Dr. Sud says, I believe thinking and acting from within this paradigm has outlived its usefulness. For example, there is little if any room to think of sustainable development in a way that would lead to thinking that development practices could be different in different cultural settings. This position assumes that poverty is strictly an economic phenomenon with a need for economic solutions and perpetuates a deficit

model of development (the "developers" are the experts while those "being developed" are the learners) and creates pressures of consumerism where they did not exist before.

In Kerala specifically, but more generally in India as well, there are indications that an economic model of development based in capitalism is inappropriate based simply on history. Heller (1999: 5,4,6) writes:

> We must come to terms with the simple proposition that development is and should be contested...because democracy in India predates capitalist transformation, it has formally empowered economic groups—unskilled workers, peasants and landless laborers—that have more often than not been the victims of capitalist development... Development is always contested, but not always transparently so...In Kerala, democratic institutions bequeathed by the Indian nationalist movement, together with local patterns of conflict and mobilization, have conspired to bring the masses into the open—*before* the development of capitalism.

One interpretation that can be taken from this citation is that Keralites came to terms long before the advent of modern development practices what development means to them. By viewing their pattern of development through a lens that respects the dignity of the Keralites, it is likely that instead of a Western perspective that Kerala has a development puzzle, we would see that there have been critical assessments of tradition which have led Keralites to preserve parts of their heritage while innovating other parts of it. These assessments create different possibilities, i.e., strong social development and different consequences, i.e., a small industrial base, a large number of Keralites who work abroad. Assuming tourism expands in an authentic manner, including critically assessing traditions, the industry can be part of Kerala's continued, contested development.

Another problem with the current economically driven paradigm of development is how development is conceptualized. According to Rist (2002: 21, 22), though religious institutions no longer hold the sway as they did historically,

> ...'development [has become] an element in the religion of modernity... [in other words] religiosity has 'migrated elsewhere'...[to the arena of] "social beliefs (human rights or 'development,' for example) [which] are a kind of collective certainty; their concrete forms may be debatable, and they may even be doubted in private, but it would be improper to question their validity in public.

If development is seen as belief, it means that we do not question whether it works in the manner we imagine it should, even in the face of evidence that shows that there is a greater divide today between rich and poor. Dr. Sud's response to this is,

> ...there is no empirical basis on that phrase [the richer are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer], anywhere in the world. Countries are growing, including the U.S. The more appropriate phrase is, 'the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting better off, but not as rich as the richer.'

Seen as belief, where debate is unacceptable, development institutions continue to link development and growth and tolerate this divide between rich and poor as the funding and the work continue unabated (Rist 2002).

There is danger in continuing to use the word "development" which is laden with meaning after more than fifty years of being couched in Western humanitarian intent while concealing negative effects. More than thirty years ago, people from parts of the world who felt the negative effects, began to see the language of development as suspect. According to Goulet (1973: xii), "Gustavo Gutierrez, a Peruvian theologian and social activist, concludes that 'the term development conveys a pejorative connotation... there will be...true development...only through liberation from the domination by capitalist countries.'" Gutierrez identifies an important underlying assumption of modern development: that it is equal to capitalism. Rist (2002: 6) puts it in 21st century terms when he writes, "'development' has gradually been drained of content, so that it is now a mere residue used to justify the process of globalization." If we are "to think differently

about our social problems and to evaluate wisely and act on new ideas" (Herda 1999: 11), we must critique the taken-for-granted meaning of development. In other words, we acknowledge that "'development' needs to be redefined, demystified and thrust into the arena of moral debate" (Goulet 1973: xix).

Researchers have been questioning for some time the wisdom of the dominant model of development and continue to do so today (Goulet 1973; Rist 2002); some have proposed that anthropology is a field that offers some new perspectives (Arce and Long 2000; Hobart 1993). The difference however between the approach discussed in these works and the one which I advocate is one of orientation. The anthropological approach cited by the authors above is oriented epistemologically, where knowledge is the central issue. The approach I espouse is a critical hermeneutic one, and though it too has anthropological roots, with concerns regarding culture, history and tradition, it is oriented toward social action, language, meaning and imagination, an ontological approach. The next section explores a shift in orientation in development toward critical hermeneutics.

Toward "Authentic Development": A Critical Hermeneutics Approach

Exploration of the meaning of development with the intent of disclosing something beyond description cannot be done from "within a scientific paradigm which depends on economic markers" (Herda 2004) because this paradigm depend on empirical, ahistorical data. For example, in critical hermeneutics, because meaning is understood to be socially constructed, a question to ask related to development is, "who are the poor?" Rist (2002: 253) writes,

> ...there are several...ways of defining poverty. The mediaeval poor stood more in contrast to the powerful than to the rich; a rich man might well be seen as poor in spirit. In Africa, it is not those who are lacking in material

> goods who are seen as poor, but those who have nobody to turn to and who are therefore 'social orphans'.

In India, Hindu tradition is integrated into everyday life and "poverty is considered to be an essential mark of 'holiness'...We have found that government officials, who may themselves follow a European way of life, have a great respect nevertheless for such a life of poverty, prayer and penance" (Griffiths 1966/1984: 45). Thus, an assessment from a critical hermeneutic perspective reveals that the economic view of poverty, the focus of current development practices, is a Western invention, steeped in an understanding and meaning which, if not foreign, does not acknowledge the possibility that living a good life may be different in different places.

In Chapter Six, I introduced the idea of an "imaginary nucleus" which "determines and rules the distribution of [the] transparent functions and institutions" and creates a "particular relationship between political institutions, nature and the individual [and] is rarely if ever the same in any two cultures" (Ricoeur 1995a: 236). Development informed by a society's imaginary nucleus demands that local culture and concerns are of primary significance, that the economic predominance of Western thinking may in fact be contrary to what is sustaining to the people. As Dr. Thomas Isaac put it regarding Kerala,

> ...the last LDF government had a democratic alternative for economic growth for which we said we would preserve our past achievements and take them forward through people's participation, decentralised planning and devolution of powers to local communities...we were clear that we were not going to give away our heritage. In fact, we wanted to build on that. So that was the total vision of development (Krishnakumar 2003).

Development viewed in the context of globalization, it is not hard to see why economic metaphors dominate discussions. However, engaging development authentically means

recognizing intrinsic needs of life, not merely the consumer driven desires that come from a focus solely on income.

As I stated in Chapter Four, anthropology, as with socioeconomic development, continues to evolve based on the interplay of innovation and sedimentation. As was learned in anthropological practices, so too, there is something that can be learned from these different orientations as development practice seeks its "ownmost possibility" (Heidegger 1962). Even in accepting Rist's (2002: 21, 22) argument in the last section that the dominant economic development practice is dependent on belief, I continue to listen for the "force of the better argument" (Habermas 1984: 25). Being hopeful by nature, I look forward to a time when there is no longer any way to hold onto a belief in economic growth as the exclusive path to well being. Once development practitioners shed this singular belief system, the door may open to the force of the better argument for development practices informed by critical hermeneutic theory.

In the last chapter, I concluded my analysis saying that two shifts in orientation toward development are necessary in order for there to be a place for identity in development work. These changes in orientation include not only the shift in social theory that Habermas (1984, 1987) proposes in his theory of communicative action but are also based on appropriating a philosophical understanding of care as Heidegger (1962) and Ricoeur (1984, 1988) offer. These two critical stances open space for the disclosing of identity through narratives where we only know ourselves in relationship with others. Identity is not first and foremost but it is always integral to our being-with in the world and thus in acts of development. I explain below why this shift in orientation is necessary.

The first shift in orientation is in the appropriation of Habermas's (1984, 1987) theory of the differentiation of system and lifeworld, a part of his overall theory of communicative action. In this work, it is revealed that if we study social theory that focuses only on the lifeworld or only on the system, we miss the dynamic influence of one on the other. Habermas (1987: 150-151) explains:

> If we understand the integration of society exclusively as *social integration*, we are opting for a conceptual strategy that...starts from communicative action and construes society as a lifeworld...The reproduction of society then appears to be the maintenance of the symbolic structures of the lifeworld...If, on the other hand, we understand the integration of society exclusively as *system integration*, we are opting for a conceptual strategy that presents society after the model of a self-regulating system... [which] ties social-scientific analysis to the external perspective of an observer and poses the problem of interpreting the concept of a system in such a way that it can be applied to interconnections of action...However...the structural patterns of action systems are not accessible to (purely external) observation; they have to be gotten at hermeneutically, that is, from the internal perspective of participants...The fundamental problem of social theory is how to connect in a satisfactory way the two conceptual strategies indicated by the notions of 'system' and 'lifeworld'.

Through bringing together these two streams in social theory, Habermas demands we take into consideration both the lifeworld and system perspective, realizing that one without the other creates a particular view that leaves out essential data. Neo-liberal economic theory which is the foundation for today's development practices creates such a view when it omits conditions with its all too often used phrase, "all things being equal." There is little to no consideration that the "liberalization measures" that brought "success have a price attached...as we see in the growth of unemployment, shantytowns, homelessness, population clearance, marginalization" (Rist 2002: 231). This price remains largely unexamined as belief that the current paradigm represents reality and

continues to be taught and practiced. Critical hermeneutic theory offers one route for bringing the price of development to light while illuminating another path.

The second shift in orientation toward development occurs when we ask, what is a new way to think about development that respects the identity and dignity of people? And further, in my work in Kerala, I ask, what does this new way to think about development have to do with creating "tourism of a different kind" in Kerala as a means for effective socioeconomic development? By bringing together the theory of differentiation of lifeworld and system with care, the essence of *Dasein*, I posit that a refigured act of development depends on understanding our situatedness in relation to the other. This notion is based in communicative practice where "the actors seek to reach an understanding about the action situation and their plans of action in order to coordinate their actions by way of agreement" (Habermas 1984: 86). Reaching such agreement is grounded in solicitude, focused on "leaping ahead" rather than "leaping in" for the other (Heidegger 1962: 158). Narrative practice becomes essential, not only for mutual understanding but "for the maintenance of social and individual identity" (Ingram 1987: 116). In other words, a sense of care, expressed through our telling our stories to one another, respects the dignity of the other rather than treating him as an entity, a thing that is "present-at-hand" (Heidegger 1962: 158).

In relation to the stories told about expanding tourism in Kerala there were agreements grounded in appropriate solicitude in the exemplary stories of Babu Varghese and the efforts of MSSRF to introduce eco-tourism to Malabar region. In both stories there is "a lesson to be told to following generations" (Ricoeur 1999: 9) about how "tourism of a different kind" is indeed not only possible but reflects the best of Keralan

culture and identity. It also opens a path for international organizations like UNWTO to reach a new awareness about their role in relation to local communities: they need the influence of effective local NGOs who can mediate the communicative space between the private and public spheres thus assuring that true agreement can be reached. This kind of awareness would mean they are no longer oriented only as experts concerned with the business of tourism but also as development care-givers and care-takers who engage the local wisdom and action, recognizing these are essential to tourism of a different kind.

With these two shifts in orientation toward development, it becomes possible to imagine that attentiveness toward and respect of the dignity of each person generates and releases a community's power-to-act, which I posit is the heart of authentic, sustainable development. In other words, when we respect the identity of the people we encounter, they claim development from their own point of view. As we are oriented toward the other and become more of a "listener rather than spectator" (Herda 1999: 54), we are able to ask the questions that help reveal the imaginary nucleus of the culture, interpreted from the stories, the interrelated actions and the institutions that support both. These shifts in orientation leads to humility, as Mr. Prasanth said, "as a consultant, I am standing in a much lower level because I know the kind of wisdom there is, it is unbelievable...it is just bringing in that much awareness into them which will take care of their economy." Everyone is changed and gains from the experience.

One of the inevitable questions that must be asked is, what actions can I take now that show these shifts in orientation? An initial act would be to critique some of the myths associated with development. I agree with Ricoeur (1995a: 239) when he states, "[o]nly those myths are genuine which can be reinterpreted in terms of liberation. And I

mean liberation as both a personal and collective phenomenon." My analysis in Chapter Six brings to light an important myth that as a westerner I can expose for its perverting rather than liberating quality. I refer to the commonly held myth that development and growth are synonymous and that endless growth is possible. In fact, I can see in my writing that I too have lived comfortably within this myth because a critique of the western view of development must also include questioning earlier statements I made, including that growth may be necessary but is not sufficient for ongoing development.

I argued earlier that there is danger in continuing to use the word "development" which is laden with meaning after more than fifty years of being couched in Western humanitarian intent while concealing negative effects. Goulet (1973: xix) writes that a confrontation between the languages of liberation and development is required in order to appropriate a new model for development. He writes:

> In final analysis, any liberation vocabulary must do two things. The first is to unmask the alienations disguised by the development lexicon: the alienation of the many in misery, of the few in irresponsible abundance. The second is to transform itself from the rallying cry of victims alone into the victory chant of all men as they empower themselves to enter history with no nostalgia for prehistory.
>
> Success proves difficult because men have never fully learned the lesson implied in a statement by the Bengali mystic Rabinadrath Tagore that, ultimately, only those values can be truly human which can be truly universal (1973: xxi).

Conversation offers the space in which this confrontation between the languages of liberation and development can occur where we can critically assess the practice of development and reveal what is worthwhile and expose what needs to change. In other words, by critically assessing development practices in conversation—by asking new questions and seeking new understandings, the Western myth of development is exposed.

As I found in the process of this research, genuine conversation is "never the one that we wanted to conduct" (Gadamer 1998: 383). Genuine conversation is a rare and rich experience, one which I have come to cherish in research and in life. The best conversations "allow something to 'emerge' which henceforth exists" (1998: 383): this dissertation is evidence of something that exists because of the willing participation of many conversation partners, both formal and informal. They each had different reasons for agreeing to participate: from the magnanimous (wanting to help the development of their state) to the mundane (doing a favor for another friend or colleague). In the end, however, regardless of their reason, each person helped generate more questions, some of which have been the basis for writing this document, others remain unanswered.

Most important, what has emerged from these questions is that they have been the basis for challenging the idea that economic growth is a necessary and exclusive component of development. They also proffers something else, reviving a view of stewardship where we are responsible for the people and material things put in our care, including the equitable distribution of the material things. Confronting the concept of development with stewardship gives me the opportunity to imagine a very different kind of development, one whose primordial nature is care.

Goulet (1973: xix) argued thirty years ago if we were to redefine and demystify development it must be thrust into the arena of moral debate. Debate is impossible if we accept Rist's (2002: 21, 22) idea that the current paradigm of development is based on belief and not on theory. Critical hermeneutic theory guides us to ask different questions and leads us to encounter ethics, of recognizing that we only really know ourselves in relationship with others. It moves development into the arena of moral debate where as

responsible stewards we "aim at the 'good life' with and for others, in just institutions" (Ricoeur 1992: 172). We are thus thrust beyond the scientific paradigm and toward actions only understood through the application of *phronesis* [practical wisdom]. Critical hermeneutics shifts our orientation toward authentic development in which we imagine its primordial nature as care, becoming attentive toward and respectful of the dignity of each person we encounter.

Summary of Findings: Kerala and Tourism of a Different Kind

I believe the path on which Keralites are currently walking has at least two of the elements in place that allows for this shift in orientation toward authentic, sustainable development. The state has one area, based on my research, in which actions need better coordination.

First, Kerala has local self-governance mechanisms, put in place during the implementation of the People's Campaign started in 1996. These will continue to be strengthened as people participate in the debate and decision making that these local bodies are designed to facilitate. These are important mechanisms if tourism is to be grounded in the local community.

Second, these governance mechanisms have essential partners in civil society: first, its independent media, with heavily read newspapers, which have some of the largest circulations of any Indian newspapers in the country. The other partners are the many quality non-governmental organizations like MSSRF that actively mediate the space between the government and other institutions (including the media) and the private spheres of the people they serve.

The area that needs better coordination based on my research is the elevating of the most appropriate issues of tourism expansion to the statewide level. For example, the Ministry of Tourism already is doing certain work, mediating where and how large international players are to be engaged. It is however also important the political center pay attention to and weigh in on these developments. The State's political leaders must be more actively involved if they are to be agents of engaging the tourism industry communicatively so the industry's natural inclination toward strategic action is mediated. In other words, it is acknowledging that authentic development depends on an interplay between the system and lifeworld, where solicitude, expressed in the lifeworld, in the form of leaping ahead, "helps the Other to become transparent *in* his care and to become *free* for it" (Heidegger 1962: 122).

In summary, Kerala is blessed with a politically active and savvy populous. People who choose to participate in local governments and other local organizations have the necessary space for debate and decision making because of the People's Campaign with its decentralized resources and greater autonomy to implement activities that support development locally. Local activities of citizens are also dependent upon the help of quality NGOs, like MSSRF. This combination of an active citizenry and NGO officials who live and work in the same communities establishes a strong foundation of commitment to action. In the next section, I elaborate on some of the work that MSSRF specifically has committed to do in relation to developing tourism of a different kind.

Policy Implications of New Understandings

I have alluded throughout this dissertation to an ongoing relationship with MSSRF. In this section, I discuss two policy implications: first, the ongoing work with

MSSRF in the area of community based eco-tourism and second, how tourism and the work of development can be better aligned through the establishment of a different relationship between the UNWTO and the NGOs that work in local areas.

1. Eco-Tourism as Outcome in Malabar Region

At the end of Chapter Five, I mentioned the receipt of an email from Dr. Anil Kumar indicating that the "state tourism minister has announced rural tourism initiatives in four districts of Kerala including that of Wayanad and Calicut. This declaration is based on our recommendations of the Calicut meeting." Although from my perspective this gathering was initially organized by MSSRF to benefit my research, in fact they came to this opportunity with different hopes and expectations. From our very different pre-understandings, we refigure a new narrative in *mimesis*$_3$, where "we imagine ourselves acting and inhabiting a world with indirect reference to the world of *mimesis*$_1$. There is a new possibility for living our lives and carrying out our policies when we critique our taken-for-granted world" (Herda 1999: 78-79). Something significant resulted: the beginning of imagining tourism of a different kind in Wayanad district.

As my part in the narrative, following the session in Calicut, I wrote a proposal to Professor Swaminathan in which I proposed to support eco-tourism development through not only my research but through a pledged amount of money that could be paid over several years (see Appendix 13 for the proposal). Upon reviewing my reflection and proposal, Professor Swaminathan accepted my offer and I made the first installment of the pledged amount. Though I did not know how the foundation would eventually determine how to use the money, I felt assured based on my experiences with them that they would choose wisely and well for those most in need.

In late December Dr. Anil Kumar wrote, saying, "we have developed a concept to intervene in a village eventually to be evolved for tourist interaction...In other words tourism could be fall out of such project. We will use your contribution as seed money to launch this initiation" (see Appendix 14). Following Mr. Prasanth's advice that tourism should be an outcome rather than focus, the foundation is seeking to launch a project to improve the livelihood of "450 odd tribal families...[and] develop a bio-valley... primarily based on an 'eco-agriculture' approach with a participatory methodology development" (MSSRF 2004c: 3). On the topic of sustainability, the document says:

> The project will pay focus to empower different committees constituted in the project site...[the people] will be imparted with various intellectual inputs. They will also be helped to link with other agencies and departments to avail their services in the area. The inputs for them are moduled in such a way, as to capacitate them to be stand alone. When they become capable enough to manage their situation, they will take forward the activities at their own capacity. The project's main thrust relies in empowering the community to attain such a level. The revolving fund provision proposed in the project will ensure the continuity and sustainability of the project (MSSRF 2004c: 5).

This project is a good example of authentic development, respecting the dignity of every person, as MSSRF says, from a "pro-poor, pro-nature and pro-woman" perspective which results in generating and releasing a community's power-to-act.

I anticipate returning to Kerala sometime in the not too distant future and becoming personally involved with this ongoing work, keeping in mind that if the work is done well, it will be some years before tourism is a reality. In the meantime, it will be through MSSRF programs like "Every Child a Scientist" where MSSRF associates, working with local tribal children "provide opportunity to train children in identification of plants, studying their socio-economic importance and value and on their propagation," (MSSRF 2004d) that give young people additional respect for the natural environment

and its wealth, and also give them the ability to envision possible work as guides in the future when eco-tourism develops.

2. The Work of Development and the Tourism Profession

The UNWTO views itself as the primary international organization to "launch a global partnership for sustainable tourism development to help the developing world unlock its tremendous tourism potential" (UNWTO 2004b: 2). With UNWTO's historical roots in the business of tourism, it is not surprising to learn that their operating paradigm is a business, expert model. The organization recently has come to recognize tourism's potential influence on poverty elimination in developing countries and, because of their new affiliation with the United Nations, there was some awareness that tourism as a means of development may require some new and different perspectives. However, because the current paradigm of development practice is economically driven, the people who represented international development institutions at this same forum did not publicly remark on the need for different perspectives. This economic focus belies reality when UNWTO refers to "launching a global partnership"—too often it is "rhetoric... [used] by international institutions to disguise interventions in political and economic reforms in sovereign states while also according to them greater legitimacy" (Crawford and Hermawan 2002: 225). Instead, a new orientation could help them to realize their intention to eliminate poverty in some of the most affected areas.

There were at the forum numerous international NGOs who offered glimmers of hope that they can help UNWTO to re-think how to expand tourism in countries. Some people talked about local needs specifically and the need for ownership. Others spoke about the difficulty of expecting results in the short time spans often given to projects.

Although these comments generally were framed in the current paradigm, there is hope that good intentions on the ground can turn into sustainable, authentic tourism activities.

These non-governmental organizations have a unique opportunity to demonstrate the importance of appropriating a new orientation toward development through their role of mediating the space between the private and public spheres. Their ability to coordinate action by way of consensus formation in language, keeping tourism grounded in the lifeworld of local communities, offers the possibility that local communities will truly benefit from tourism's expansion. Being guided by NGOs rather than their own actions coordinated by delinguistified media like money and power, the UNWTO can create a different ST-EP (Sustainable Tourism-Eliminate Poverty) Program, one that is dependent upon local wisdom and action. In other words, by engaging differently the work of effective NGOs, the UNWTO's aim would change as it helps NGOs to help local communities to unlock tourism's potential as a means of development.

Unrelated to this Forum, the work of UNDP which was introduced by Mr. Prasanth is encouraging. Their work stands apart from the work of the UNWTO because it is country-specific and is sponsored by another program within the United Nations system (see Appendix 1). Making a connection between the two organizations would go a long way toward helping UNWTO to recognize other ways to think about their all important commitment to create sustainable tourism that eliminates poverty.

Future Research: Education of Tourism Professionals

After attending the two-day forum sponsored by UNWTO in October 2004, I realized the potential for future research to be done in the field of education for tourism expansion. At the same time that I imagined that this research could be fruitful, it was

also clear how challenging it would be to bring officials in this international organization and the current educational institutions with which they are affiliated to recognize the need for a different orientation for development studies.

This would be a new field of study, particularly in light of the UNWTO's new status as a specialized agency of the United Nations and their commitment to ST-EP (Sustainable Tourism-Eliminate Poverty), which supports the Millennium Development Goals of the UN. It would be a separate course of study for the education of future tourism professionals who also imagine themselves working in development, leaving intact initially current programs oriented strictly toward tourism in developed areas.

Starting from the position that tourism should be an outcome rather than focus of development, future research in this area could follow the two initiatives that are indicated in this dissertation, the "Endo-genous Tourism" model of the Government of India and the UNDP (see Chapter Five) and the establishment of a bio-valley in Wayanad District (see Appendix 14). This research could bring together the narratives of the villagers and the various outside development workers to show the results that these groups have been able to accomplish through authentic development practices. The data from this research then could be the basis for developing educational offerings that cross disciplinary lines and address creating tourism of a different kind.

If my own experience in glimpsing the effect of a global institution like UNWTO is an indicator, a minority of people in American educational institutions recognize the need to appropriate a new approach to development. Thus, it is likely to take some time before this kind of development education is accepted. However, with a continuing association with MSSRF who are oriented toward respecting the dignity of people while

preserving local environments and who would naturally ground tourism activities in local communities, it is likely this work can continue quietly and result in improved livelihoods. Because of the respect this organization commands, in large part due to the leadership of Professor Swaminathan, actual work with them will bring credibility to the positions taken in this dissertation and have long term influence on development studies.

Personal Reflections: Questions of Development

I wondered throughout the process of researching and writing this dissertation, what mystery have I encountered? The quote from Philip Simmons (2002: 8), "at its deepest levels life is not a problem but a mystery. The distinction...is fundamental: Problems are to be solved, true mysteries are not," has been a constant guide as I had conversations with people and with the resulting texts of the transcriptions. The quote kept me from seeking to solve the problem of development but to engage it openly, to let it unfold out of the texts with which I interacted to create this dissertation.

What unfolded from the many texts with which I engaged was a new understanding of development, subtly but profoundly different from the understanding I brought to the work. Instead of finding a literal place for identity in the work of development which I assumed I would find, I realized that its place is poetic rather than literal—that identity's place is always in relationship with others—as Ricoeur (1992: 161) writes, "each of us is caught up in the histories of others." In other words, we are enmeshed in one another's stories. Thus, when one shifts toward a more comprehensive view of social theory and appropriates a philosophical understanding of care of the other, we recognize authentic development as focused on people not things. Development depends on an interplay between the system and lifeworld, where solicitude, grounded in

the lifeworld, moves us to respect the dignity and identity of each person so we all claim development as our own. This kind of solicitude enables people to exercise their own care, giving them space to reach their own potential. Authentic development generates and releases a person's and a community's power-to-act, seeking their ownmost potentiality-to-be.

Being guided by Simmons's quote kept me engage in the research at a different level. I was seeking to disclose something "hidden and yet so essentially constituted the meaning and ground" (Heidegger 1962: 35) of development. I realized that being guided by mystery meant seeking new questions about development, not new answers. It was by asking new questions that the severe limitations of the current paradigm were revealed.

In the background of my work have been Gadamer's (1998: 363) words, "the path of all knowledge leads through the question." He continues,

> Discourse that is intended to reveal something requires that that thing be broken open by the question...Posing a question implies openness but also limitation...Deciding the question is the path to knowledge. What decides a question is the preponderance of reasons for the one and against the other possibility...there is no such thing as a method of learning to ask questions, of learning to see what is questionable. On the contrary...the important thing is the knowledge that one does not know...Every sudden idea has the structure of a question (1998: 363, 364, 365).

The question that broke open this work was, "what does development mean?" followed soon after by the question I appropriated from Rist (2002: 46), "[w]hen will we realize that well-being does not come from growth?" By asking these questions in particular I realized the direction that this work would take: toward appropriating a refigured act of development that challenges the received tradition of Western economic studies. I can see in the questions "both negative and positive judgments...the basis of the essential relation between question and knowledge" (1998: 364). As I look back

over my notes, the questions leaped out at me, guided me, and opened up my thinking and subsequent writing. It was also my questions that engaged others in the research. Questions have led me toward new understandings that would otherwise have remained concealed. Questions are responsible for the subtle and profound change in my own orientation toward development.

In seeking to understand the meaning of development in the international arena, I was fortunate to spend time with Dr. Stephen Commins, Senior Human Development Specialist at the World Bank (see Appendix Five). Steve also teaches courses in development. Steve and I talked about the importance of questions. He suggested I would be lucky if by the end of my dissertation work I had more questions than answers.

Based on his vast and diverse experience, Steve put together what he thinks are the five questions that most need to be asked when working in development. In summary they are (the full text of these questions is in Appendix 15),

1. What timeframe is set for development? We need generational timeframes, we need a historical perspective, not one-year, three-year or five-year plans.
2. How do you account for the fact that everything is contingent? No matter what is planned, no matter how it is planned, it does not work out the way it is planned. Thus, adapting, flexibility and learning are necessary processes.
3. How do you recognize that there are differing worldviews? What is required is a willingness to "critically engage": to broaden your own perspective and understand other's people's views.
4. What ways can both local and outside organizations foster improving human conditions without increasing the level of conflict? Change is conflictive. Status quo is conflictive. Recognize that conflict is inevitable.
5. What are the trade offs you have to make? How do you maximize the winners, especially among the poor groups and minimize the cost to the losers?

Based on these questions, I believe Steve would agree that a principle in a refigured act of development must be to work to change conditions so people's voices of wisdom may

be heard. Habermas's theory of the uncoupling of system and lifeworld (1988), Ricoeur's narrative theory (1984, 1988) and recognizing that care is the essence of our existence (Heidegger 1962), collectively, help us to critically engage with people whereas the economic data of the scientific paradigm of development, conceal all of our voices. Critical hermeneutics also encourages us to hear the voices of local wisdom in everyday ways. We hear wisdom in poetry and narratives, and especially, in conversation as we build relationships of trust. In other words, new questions that guide imaginations and actions toward development practices mean a community develops power-in-common to act to refigure the good life as they understand it.

I recognize questioning as an art, connected to my ability to think. As Gadamer (1998: 367) writes, "only a person who knows how to ask questions is able to persist in his questioning, which involves being able to preserve his orientation toward openness. The art of questioning is the art of questioning even further—i.e., the art of thinking." What I understand is that this search for questions is really about identity—questions which preserve my openness to change and give voice to the person I already am. It is as T.S. Eliot (1943: 59) says:

> We shall not cease from exploration
> And the end of all our exploring
> Will be to arrive where we started
> And know the place for the first time.

When we ask others about their development, that is, what they imagine for their own futures, we learn that they have dreams and hopes that are different than what we may traditionally know as western ones. They have dreams that can go beyond merely basic needs that we often seek to provide. Goulet (1973: 242), for example, explores the importance of what he calls enhancement needs and the goods that accompany them:

> [people] must have access to those goods which enable them to invent, explore possibilities, and bring their capacities to maturity. Such needs are called enhancement needs because they are not directly ordered to utilitarian functions except insofar as they contribute to expression and creation.

One category of enhancement needs that Goulet (1973: 242, 246) identifies is "needs of transcendence," which he points out,

> 'transcendence' is not thought to lie outside man's experience, but is viewed as immanent to his endless quest for meaning and identity. Enhancement needs in this sense are the most intimately 'human' needs of all, for man must stretch out beyond himself in order to be human... enhancement goods contribute most directly to the quality of human life. They help foster community, creativity, and personal fulfillment.

I come full circle to realize that I learned the lesson of the importance of needs of transcendence from the story of Nema Tenzi (Godfry 1983). In the midst of a changing reality, Nema does not find peace in Levi jackets or Rolex watches. He finds peace in his daily prayers and by recognizing that change is eternal. Here is a universal experience that is being played out daily, if only we would stop, ask, and listen to the story.

By asking rather than assuming we know what another's needs are, we are preserving an orientation toward openness (Gadamer 1998: 367) which "helps the Other to become transparent *in* his care and to become *free* for it" (Heidegger 1962: 122). It is from a questioning mode that we are able to come to agreements that shows our orientation of solicitude, care, which "is the concern with, a caring for, an answerability to, the presentness and mystery of Being itself, of Being as it transfigures beings" (Steiner 1989: 100) and is the appropriate stance for a refigured act of development. Questions are an outward and visible sign of an inward, invisible grace that guides ethical responsibility in a refigured act of development that respects the dignity of every person as we seek to help one another reach our ownmost potentiality-to-be.

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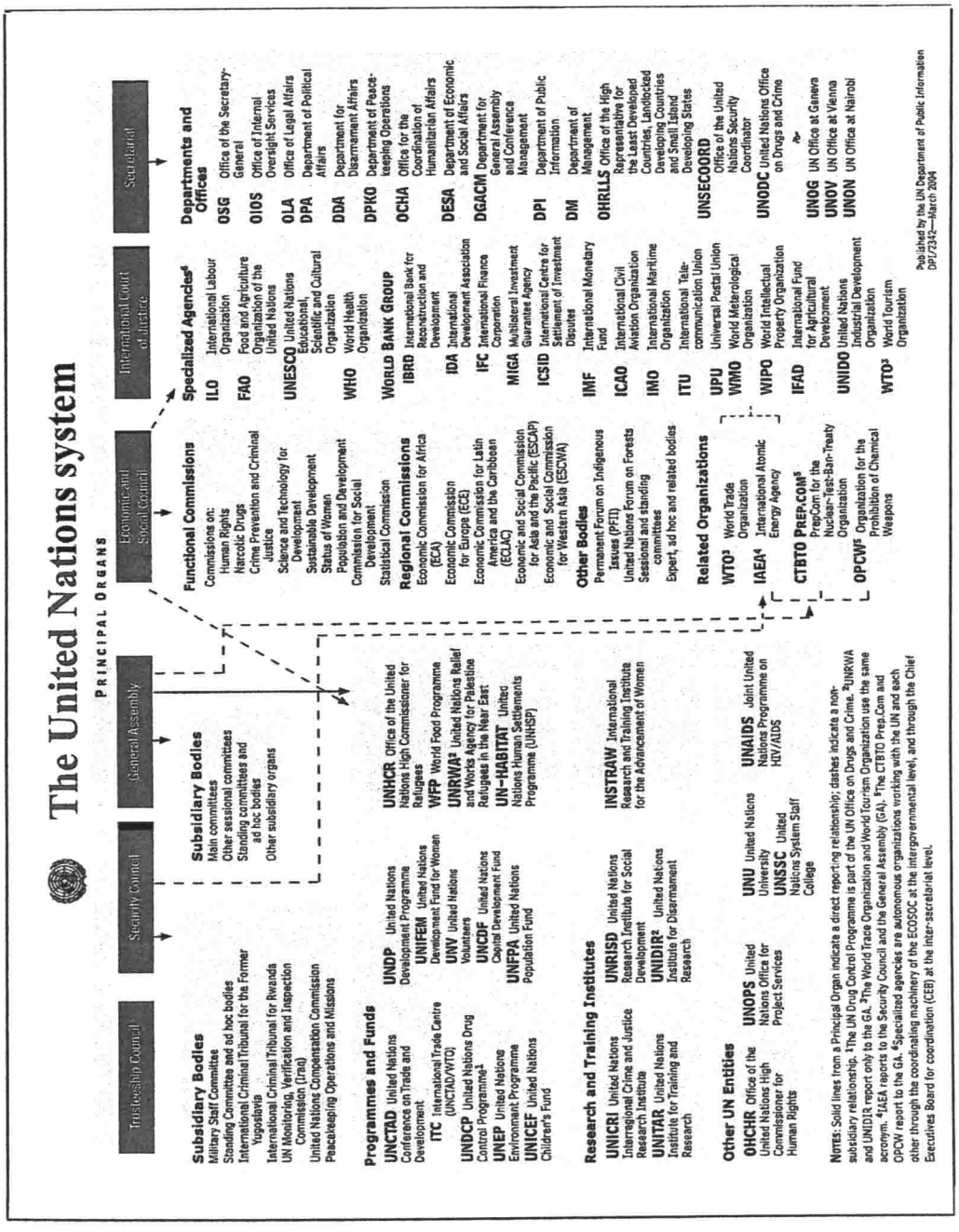
Appendices (Detail)

Appendix 1: United Nations Chart of Principal Organs



Appendix 2
University of San Francisco
Letter of Invitation and Research Questions

Date

Participant's Name and Title
Company or Organization
Address

Dear Mr./Ms.:

Thank you for agreeing to participate in an exploration of my dissertation topic. As you know, I am interested in the relationship between community and individual identity and tourism as a sustainable plan for socioeconomic development in Kerala. I am inviting researchers, government employees, tourism professionals and development practitioners to discuss their knowledge and experiences related to this topic. By engaging in such conversations, I hope to develop a new orientation toward tourism that accounts more fully for the cultural and individual benefits and disadvantages to the people of a host area.

In addition to the opportunity to share ideas, I am seeking your permission to record and transcribe our conversations. In doing so, our conversation will act as data for the analysis of the topic I have described above. Once transcribed, I will provide you with a copy of our conversation so you may review it. You may add or delete any section of the conversation at that time. When I have received your approval, I will use our conversation to support my analysis. Data that you contribute, your name and position will not be held as confidential.

Attached you will find a series of proposed questions. These questions are primarily a guide, not intended to be a script. They also indicate my specific interests which include your area of expertise. The most important thing to remember is that I am looking to hear your real-life experiences and what you have learned along the way regarding socioeconomic development and tourism as one of its possible avenue and how one's identity changes/stays the same in relation to it. My hope is that our conversation provides an opportunity for us to learn something together through this exploration.

Again, thank you for your willingness to meet. I look forward to seeing you soon.

Most sincerely,

Ayliffe Mumford
Researcher, Doctoral Student
University of San Francisco
Organization and Leadership/Pacific Leadership International
ayliffe@att.net Tel: 1 (415) 346-8921 Fax: 1 (415) 346-6410

Appendix 2 (continued)
University of San Francisco
Letter of Invitation and Research Questions

Research Questions to Guide Conversations

Although no preparation on your part is required, here are some possible conversation topics. These are meant only as a guide to the research conversation and are not a script. Typically, the best conversations take on a life of their own.

With that said, reflecting on your own knowledge and experiences, please consider the following questions:

- Have you traveled to other parts of the world [country]? [If yes] What is the value to you as a person and traveler to visit these places? How are you the same/different as a result of these travels? Tell me a story of a trip that you took that includes a wonderful experience and a difficult one.

- What do you see is the value of people visiting [Kerala]? Why? What are the social/economic/cultural costs of increasing tourism [in Kerala]? Are these costs worth it? What are the new opportunities? What is lost?

- How is work in tourism viewed by people [in Kerala]? What personal needs does it fulfill? What community needs does it fulfill? What education does one receive to work in this field? What education is lacking?

- How are you/the community the same/different as a result of this emphasis on tourism? What has been positive/difficult about working in it? What has been positive/difficult about so many people discovering [Kerala]?

- How would you imagine changing the circumstances [industry/state regulations] so tourism does not adversely affect the beauty/eco-diversity/people of [Kerala]?

Appendix 3
University of San Francisco
Text of Confirmation

The majority of conversations that I had were scheduled and held on the same day, thus, there was not time to send a confirmation. However, the text below was covered with each research participant so they could be clear about the nature of the conversation, what we would discuss and how it would be recorded.

Thank you so very much for allowing me the opportunity to have a conversation with you about your ideas, experiences, and viewpoints on identity and its relationship to tourism as a sustainable plan for socioeconomic development in Kerala.

With your permission, I will record our conversation, transcribe the tapes into a written text, and submit it for your review. After you review the text, I would like to discuss the conversation we had and any follow-up comments. Please remember that data for this research are not confidential.

The exchange of ideas in conversation is the format for my participatory research. After it is transcribed, you can add or delete to what the transcripts contain. This process will not only give you the opportunity to correct anything stated in our conversation, but allows you the opportunity to reflect on it as well. Only after your approval, will I look at the text of the conversation that we had, gather new ideas, possibly enlarging or re-orienting the area under investigation, and continue my research.

Once again, thank you for meeting with me.

Ayliffe Mumford
Researcher, Doctoral Student
University of San Francisco
School of Education
Pacific Leadership International

APPENDIX 4-A
SAMPLE THANK YOU NOTE

Dear Joseph.

It seems impossible to express how thankful I am to you for all you have done as my host here in Trivandrum. Your opening of doors to state officials led to some significant conversations that I know are rich in data for my work. The lengthy conversations with you have helped provide context—context I would not have as an outsider and which deeply inform my perspectives as I continue the research.

I also thank you for the Economic Review of 2003 and your friend's books—the titles intrigue me so I suspect there will be comments to share once I start reading them.

Thank you seems inadequate—I know I take with me a sense of this place that would have been impossible without your interest, guidance and hospitality. I shall however say it again and look forward to our continued communication. Thank You!

With warmest regards,

Ayliffe

APPENDIX 4-B
RETURN OF TRANSCRIPT/REQUEST FOR ITS REVIEW

Dear ,

At long last, I have finished working on the transcript of our conversation! Sorry for such a long delay.

I so appreciate your willingness to participate in my research project on the relationship between identity and tourism as a sustainable plan for socioeconomic development in Kerala. I think our conversation will be a valuable part of my data for my dissertation.

I have attached to this email a copy of the transcription of our conversation and if you would like, I am willing to also send to you a hard (paper) copy. Please let me know by return email if you would like me to mail a hard copy to you and I will do so immediately.

The attached transcript is about 7 pages long; I reduced the font size to 8 so it might transmit more quickly to you. When you download and open the document, the font size can be increased for easier reading. If you have problems opening the attachment, let me know and I will resend it in the body of an email.

I would appreciate you reviewing the transcript and change/ revise/add/delete anything that you would like. I have taken the liberty to write a synopsis of the conversation, just to give you an idea of what stands out for me in the conversation. I would be most interested after you review the transcript what your impression is of this synopsis.

Remember that you have complete editorial control over the content in this document. I will only use what you give me permission to use freely and openly in my dissertation.

Your comments can be sent to me via email at the following address: ayliffe@att.net I have also provided my home address below in case you want to send a hard copy of the document to me with your comments on it.

My timetable is to complete the first draft of my dissertation by mid November. I will therefore appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Again, many, many thanks for taking the time to talk with me.

Best regards to you and your family,

Ayliffe

Ayliffe Mumford
2840 Buchanan Street
San Francisco, CA 94123 USA
ayliffe@att.net

Appendix Five: Research Participants[1]

Name	Title	Organization
T. Balakrishnan	Secretary to Government	Ministry of Tourism—Government of Kerala Secretariat

Mr. T. Balakrishnan has worked directly and indirectly for Kerala Tourism since 1985. He has been Secretary in the Ministry of Tourism since 1999. From 1995-1999 he was the Regional Director for the India Tourist Office in New York. In September 2004 he left the Ministry of Tourism and is now an Excise Commissioner for the State.

T. M. Thomas Isaac, PhD	Member Communist Party of India—Marxist (Left Democratic Front coalition)	Kerala Legislative Assembly

Dr. T.M. Thomas Isaac was the key architect of the LDF's decentralisation-for-development experiment, an ambitious programme of democratic decentralization. Authored by the Communist Party of India (Marxist)-led Left Democratic Front (LDF) government, this programme also had "all-round development" as its objective. Dr. Thomas Isaac is a former Member of the State Planning Board, Associate Fellow at the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) in Thiruvananthapuram and CPI(M) Member of the Legislative Assembly (Krishnakumar 2003). I spoke to him in July 2004 during the Legislative Session of the Assembly.

Joseph Oommen	Additional Private Secretary To Minister for Labour and Rehabilitation	Government of Kerala Secretariat

Since the Congress Party-led United Democratic Front (UDF) came to power in 2001, Mr. Oommen has worked in the Labour and Rehabilitation Ministry as Additional Private Secretary to Minister Babu Divakaran. Mr. Oommen was my main contact in Trivandrum on my two trips to Kerala in 2004. He graciously arranged for me to meet both Dr. Thomas Isaac and Mr. T. Balakrishnan, other government officials.

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[1] I found myself confused very often by south Indian names, never really sure how to address people politely. After my return, I read in M.S. Swaminathan's biography the paragraph below, explaining how many south Indians are named. I offer it here as one example. In addition, women, when they marry, take their husband's given name as their second name. I am aware that Christians follow a somewhat different naming system but I have not found a good explanation of it. When addressing someone, it is Mr., Mrs., Ms., Dr. [Given Name].

> Monkombu Sambasivan Swaminathan. A long name, but that is the way it is with many south Indian names. The first word is the name of your village or town. The second is your father's given name. The last, the one you are known by, is your given name. There are no surnames. Traditionally, the first son is called after his father's father and the second son, after his mother's father. Obviously, to cut short the long name, the first two names are initialized (Gopalkrishnan 2002: 4).

Name	Title	Organization
Sasikala Devidas	Leader of Traditional Kathakali Dance Troupe	Cochin Cultural Centre Cochin, Kerala

Sasikala runs the Cochin Cultural Centre with her brother. Started by their father, it is a venue for the performance of traditional Kathakali Dance, geared toward a tourist market. The performances are typically one hour long (vs. the traditional six-eight hours) and are preceded by makeup sessions by the dance artists where people can sit and wait them transform from street clothes to the fantastic costumes and makeup of this traditional art form. Sasikala and her daughter are both performers, something that is out of the ordinary in an art form that is male oriented. Sasikala also manages *Ayurkendram*, a center for ayurvedic treatment and yoga where her husband is the director and chief medical consultant. I met Sasikala on my first trip to Kerala in January 2004 and renewed our acquaintance on the second trip in July. Her association with these two Keralan traditions gave me great insight into their value to Keralan culture.

Joshi P. George	Tour Operator	Associated with Namaste Tours. Cochin, Kerala.

Joshi is affiliated with Namaste Tours, the organization that arranged all my travel while I was in India. He represents them in Kerala, handling local arrangements for them. Joshi got into the tourism industry "by accident." He had been in Delhi for 17 years, working for a newspaper, The Times of India, working on their travel journal. He knew a number of travel agents and, looking for a change, was encouraged to leave journalism and to try working in the travel and tourism industry. A two-week trial turned out to be a positive experience so he left Delhi to return to his home in Kerala, starting his own agency with affiliations with organizations in Delhi. He made this move so he could "concentrate on a small place," so he could do more.

Ajai Kumar K.S.	Tour Guide	Works independently. Based in Trivandrum, Kerala

Ajai was the first tour guide I met in January 2004 on my first trip to Kerala. He is an energetic, enthusiastic young man who has been working in the tourism industry for nine years. A typical Keralite, he is well read, politically active and has opinions about everything. He also speaks three languages, English, German and his native Malayalam. Ajai recently decided he wanted to start his own tour business, offering a limited clientele an authentic visit of Kerala. Having worked and been trained by Babu Varghese, the man credited with turning the *Kettuvalloms* into houseboat experiences for tourists, he continues in Babu's tradition of being fiercely protective of the heritage and culture of his native Kerala while seeking to offer an experience of it to visitors from outside the state. Ajai took me to bookstores in Trivandrum and introduced me to some of the important Keralan writers, suggesting which of their works were most representative of their work. He also was the first person to tell me the story of Babu Varghese.

Name	Title	Organization
Rajeev Parameswaran	Director—Operations	Namaste Tours Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, India

Rajeev is part owner with his brother Bala of Namaste Tours. He has worked in the tourism industry since he was sixteen, starting as a greeter of arriving tourists at the airport in Delhi. He started his own firm several years ago with an understanding with his previous employer that he would not take with him any clients he had met during his nearly ten years of work. Instead, using the Internet and traveling to European countries that had yet to discover India as a major travel destination, he and Bala marketed their company, still offering the very personal attention for which he has become known. His ancestral home is in Kerala though his first trip there was not until he was seventeen years old. Rajeev is a very special person in that he takes his business relations seriously and his responsibility to others equally so; he supports a number of orphans including a pair of twins who he intended eventually to adopt. Rajeev is a tireless worker, always available to his clients, working hard to make their visit to India memorable. He certainly did exactly that for me on both of my trips there in 2004.

Brigitte Revelli	Puppeteer	Works independently—Met in Trivandrum

Ms. Revelli is from France and has lived in India for fourteen years. She was a contemporary dancer in France. When she came to India, she spent four years as a Kathakali dancer but stopped when she became "fed up" with how other dancers "sold out" the tradition in favor of money, alcohol and sex. She channeled her energies into new endeavors—first, into sculpture and then into puppetry of Kathakali dance. She now performs in France and schedules other performances around Kerala during festivals, and, in order to survive, at hotels. She was introduced to me by Mr. T. Balakrishnan.

Benny Thomas	Managing Director	Vacation India—Trivandrum

Mr. Benny Thomas was introduced to me by his driver who was assigned to work with me during my stay in Trivandrum in July 2004. He is Managing Director of Vacation India, Budget Car Rentals and a new concern, Holiday Shop, aimed specifically at the domestic Indian market. He started his career in tourism as a tour guide, having come from a farm family in a small village near Cochin. He is ambitious and business-minded and like other Keralites I met, opinionated about what ails Keralan society and that if only they "can stop corruption this country will be a paradise." At the same time, he knows what has to be done in order to get work accomplished.

Name	Title	Organization
Alphonse Chandra Kumar	Manager, Community Banking	MSSRF in Chennai*[2]

Alphonse has worked for five years with MSSRF in Chennai, the main campus for the foundation. He manages the community banking for the foundation, working to strengthen grass roots institutions by providing them alternative livelihood opportunities through micro-credit for the development of micro-enterprises. He was also my main contact with the foundation, traveling with me from Calicut to Kalpetta and then to Chennai. Alphonse helped me to think through how I might support the work of the foundation in a unique way by starting a project fund for the development of eco-tourism in Kerala. The project was accepted by Professor Swaminathan and I am in the process of funding work for three years. He also located and then managed a young woman who worked on the initial transcriptions of my audio tapes that had been recorded in India, helping me enormously with this process.

N. Anil Kumar, PhD	Programme Director Community Agro-biodiversity Centre	M.S. Swaminathan Research* Foundation—Kalpetta Wayanad, Kerala

Dr. Anil Kumar, educated as a botanist, has worked for MSSRF for 15 years in sustainable agriculture and rural development in many parts of India. Seven years ago he was part of starting the Community Agro-Biodiversity Centre in Wayanad District in Kerala. He is in charge of this centre. Dr. Anil Kumar organized the day long meeting that was held in Calicut, Kerala that included local leaders and other interested parties in developing eco-tourism for the Malabar Region.

A.M. Abdul Kareem	Managing Director	Jungle Park Resorts* Kozhikode (Calicut) Kerala

Mr. Abdul Kareem is a business man and local entrepreneur in the tourism industry who lives in Calicut in Kerala. He has two nature resorts in Wayanad district: Green Magic Nature Resort, a grouping of tree houses and cottages, very basic amenities and authentic Keralan cuisine. The second is Jungle Park Nature Resort which consists of restored historic buildings with more creature comforts than Green Magic.

K.V. Divakaran	Farmer/Sec'y of Wayanad Agriculture Rural Development Association	Associated with MSSRF* in Kalpetta, CAbC

Mr. Divakaran is a farmer from Wayanad district who practices organic farming. He is associated with MSSRF and many of their activities. He is the former Secretary of the

[2] The seven asterisked research participants were part of a day long session in Calicut, Kerala which is transcribed as one text.

Wayanad Agricultural Rural Development Association. He also works closely with the hill tribes in the area, particularly with the Kurichiya tribe, consulting and advising them as they have recently been given title to their lands. Mr. Divakaran attended the day long session in Calicut and the next day was one of my host in the Kalpetta area, introducing me to leaders of the Kurichiya tribe. He also invited me to his home for lunch and gave me a tour of his farm and showed me some of his organic farming projects.

K.S. Kenkitachalam	Retired	State Bank of India*

Mr. Kenkitachalam attended the day long session on Calicut on the prospects for eco-tourism in Malabar region. He had recently retired from the State Bank of India and enjoys traveling, reading and writing. He had many important perspectives to share regarding the importance of authenticity in tourism and told several stories to illustrate his points.

K.S. Manilal, PhD	Emeritus Professor/ Chairman	Centre for Research in Indigenous* Knowledge, Science & Culture Calicut

Professor Manilal was a professor at Calicut University from its founding in 1964 until 1999. Since his retirement, he has concentrated on translating the book, *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*, the first book written on the plant wealth of Malabar, published in 1678 in Amsterdam, written in Latin. He finished the translation (into English) in time for its publication in 2003, celebrating the 325th anniversary of its original publication. He is now working on translating it into the local language, Malayalam. Professor Manilal was the honorary chairman of the day long session in Calicut.

Prasanth. A. K.	Chief Architect Consultant to Govt. of India/ UNDP	Prasanth & Associates* Calicut, Kerala, India

Mr. Prasanth is a practicing architect and has his own firm, Prasanth & Associates, which is an architectural design consulting group involved in all stages of architectural projects for residential, industrial and commercial, religious and community organizations. He has also acted as a consultant to the Government of India and the United Nations Development Program, recommending policies for sustainable development and the potential for development of tourism in the rural areas of India. He spoke at length at the day long session in Calicut on this consulting work.

Name	Title	Organization
Stephen Commins, PhD	Senior Human Development Specialist	World Bank—Washington DC
	Adjunct Professor/Lecturer	Elliott School of International Affairs—GWU and School of Public Affairs—UCLA

Stephen Commins is senior human development specialist in the Human Development Network in the World Bank. During 2002-3, he was on the core team that produced the World Development Report 2004, "Making Services Work for poor People". His work at the World Bank has included the UN Youth Employment Network, various initiatives with civil society organizations, and support for country operations related to children and adolescent well-being. He was director of policy and planning at World Vision International, and then director of global analysis and policy at World Vision U.S. Prior to that, he was director of the Development Institute at the UCLA African Studies Center. From Website: http://www2.gwu.edu/~elliott/facultystaff/parttime.html

Nata Duvvury, PhD	Director—Gender, Violence & Rights	International Centre for Research on Women—Washington

Dr. Nata Duvvury leads International Centre for Research on Women's work that addresses issues of violence against women and issues of gender and peace building, taking a lead in dissemination of findings and developing plans for policy advocacy. She is an economist with particular expertise in macroeconomics, violence against women, regional trade, and social welfare. While at ICRW, she spearheaded an extensive, five-year study on domestic violence in India. Prior to ICRW, she co-taught a course in Kerala, India, on Women, Population and Development, and another on Economic Change and Structural Growth. She also conducted a study on women's employment in India for the International Labour Organization and taught Macroeconomics, Microeconomics and Development Economics at Nagarjuna University in India. She is fluent in several Indian languages. Dr. Duvvury holds a Ph.D. in Economics from Jawaharlal Nehru University in India. From Website: http://www.icrw.org

Inder Sud, PhD	Professorial Lecturer in International Affairs	Elliott School of International Affairs The George Washington University

Dr. Sud is a Professorial Lecturer at the Elliott School of International Affairs of The George Washington University. Before his retirement in 2001, he was Director of the Middle East Department at the World Bank. He is also Senior Partner of Washington Associates International, an international consulting firm specializing in issues of international development and finance and has taught part-time at the Sanford School of Public Policy at Duke University. He received a Ph.D. from Stanford University. From Website: http://www2.gwu.edu/~elliott/facultystaff/parttime.html

Appendix 6
University of San Francisco
Consent To Be a Research Participant

Purpose and Background
Ms. Ayliffe Blake Mumford, in the University of San Francisco School of Education, asked me to be a participant in her research, that explores the relationship between identity and tourism as a sustainable plan for socioeconomic growth in Kerala, India. This research will provide new understandings regarding this relationship which may benefit tourism and development professionals and those who educate them.

Procedures
I agree, as a part of this study, to participate in conversations with Ms. Mumford about my views and experiences regarding the issue stated above. I agree that she may tape record the conversation, which will then be transcribed. A copy of the transcript will be returned to me for review, editing, and approval before its inclusion in the analysis. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time, may discontinue the conversation at any point, and that I may request any changes or deletions. My participation in this research project is voluntary, and any data I contribute to this study will not be confidential.

Risk and Discomforts
I am free to decline to answer any questions, ask that the recorder be turned off or terminate the conversation at any time. If I am uncomfortable, I may terminate my participation in the study at any time. I also understand that my name and anything I contribute to the text of the research will be included in the dissertation or subsequent publications. I understand that any potential risk due to lack of confidentiality will be mitigated by my editorial control over the data associated with me.

Benefits
There is no direct benefit to me from participating in this study and I will receive no monetary consideration. An indirect benefit of this conversation is to personally reflect on, and to gain new knowledge of the topic at hand, namely, the relationship between identity and tourism as a sustainable plan for socioeconomic growth in Kerala.

Alternatives
I have freely chosen to participate in this study.

Cost
There will be no monetary cost to me to take part in this study.

Questions
If I have any questions or comments about the study, I may contact Ms. Ayliffe Mumford at 2840 Buchanan Street San Francisco, CA 94123 USA (415) 346-8921 or at email: ayliffe@att.net. I may also contact her advisor, Dr. Ellen Herda, at the University of San Francisco (415) 422-2075. Should I not want to address comments to either of them, I may contact the office of Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human

Subjects between 8:00 AM and 5:00 PM (Pacific Time), Monday through Friday, by calling (415) 422-6091 or by writing to the IRBPHS, Psychology Department, University of San Francisco 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080 USA.

Consent to Participate in Research

I have been given a copy of this consent letter to keep. I understand that my participation in the dissertation research conducted by Ms. Ayliffe Mumford is voluntary. I understand and agree with the above procedures and conditions.

Participant Signature Date

Researcher's Signature Date

Researcher's Name (Print) Date

Appendix 7: Pilot Study
The Place of Identity in International Development

I. Introduction

The purpose of this field project is to explore the question, "what is the place of identity in development work," to assess the depth of the question and its worth as a dissertation topic based on a critical hermeneutic analysis of two "pilot" conversations. This question holds deep interest for me: I felt the pleasure immediately that interest brings that one "connect[s] with the idea of the existence of an object or of an action" (Habermas 1971: 198). Through this period of analysis I have become equally aware of Habermas' claim that "*all* knowledge is ultimately guided by interest" (Kearney 1994: 226) as I have wandered through the texts of the two conversations alongside the texts of critical hermeneutic theory, questioning them further, seeking truth in their midst.

This report will proceed as follows: after identifying my conversation partners and how and why I chose them, I will briefly present the theory that has informed my work, followed by a synthesis of the data. This synthesis will show that the place of identity in development work today, if addressed at all, is indirect. Once the prenarrative structure of the actors is taken into account (a condition for sustained development), the analysis that follows shows a clash between the lifeworld and subsystems of the actors which acts to conceal identity from becoming part of the work. This analysis of the topic at hand results in some new questions, including, what might be the conditions so identity is revealed and has a place in development work. I will conclude with a summary of my learnings from this analysis and implications for future work.

II. Conversation Partners

Because my interest is to understand the place of identity in development work, I wanted to get two different perspectives. I felt these might come from people who work in two different contexts, one who works on projects funded by the government and one who has mostly non-governmental experiences. This criterion was satisfied with the two people who agreed to talk with me, Jane Schubert and Brian Sellers-Petersen (see appendix, Description of Field Project, for background information on both people). I was interested in the idea that they work collaboratively with colleagues on their projects; this seemed important because it is unlikely that they could engage the topic of identity if they were working in a more directive type of model. Both people spoke in detail about this aspect of their work and it proved to be an opening for the analysis. I was also interested in the idea that the two people had worked in some of the same country sites in order to compare and contrast their working contexts (governmental vs. NGO). This did not prove to be pivotal in the conversations which is an indication that I may eventually be able to identify some transcultural images that will apply to other settings. The two conversations occurred on November 7th and 13th respectively, one in Washington, D.C. in Jane's office and the other, with Brian, in Seattle, Washington, driving in a car and later at a Starbuck's. The settings reflect the depth of the exchanges.

The process of analysis has led to new questions which "open up possibilities of meaning" (Gadamer 1998: 375) even as I realized that the two "conversations" were not conversational: one was an informational interview and the other, a monologue by a "master spinner." At this stage of the process this is not unexpected: there is much I do not know about international development and I found the topic of identity to be a

difficult one to engage with these two development practitioners (the reasons for this difficulty is discussed in this analysis). The texts came to life as I engaged critical hermeneutic theory. The next section presents these theories, Ricoeur's theory of prenarrative structure (*mimesis*$_1$) and Habermas' theory of the uncoupling of system and lifeworld, both of which have direct influence on how identity is expressed and lived out.

III. Discussion of Theory

Understanding one's identity requires first that we learn something of their prenarrative structure because it is history that "preserves the relation to the future and the present" (Ricoeur 1988: 121). It is in *mimesis*$_1$, where we learn the order of action, the "always already" of their existence. It is a familiarity with the prior order of action that is the basis for new action, that sustains, in this case, the act of development, because this order sustains the refiguration, a possible new future, the kingdom of "*as if*".

To analyze the text and then configure a new story, there are three features that present themselves in the prenarrative structure that anchor "intelligibility engendered by emplotment" (1984: 54). First, what is an actor's competence for action? By using the "conceptual network that structurally distinguishes the domain of action from that of physical movement," we recognize that "actions imply goals...refer to motives...have agents...We also understand that these agents act and suffer in circumstances they did not make...[and that] the outcome of an action may be a change in fortune toward happiness or misfortune" (1984: 54-55). Learning about this network gives us openings to ask questions to discern important aspects of identity.

Second, we seek to understand the norms and ideals of a culture because "[i]f in fact, human action can be narrated, it is because it is always already articulated by signs,

rules and norms. It is always already symbolically mediated...[which is] to distinguish among symbols of a cultural nature, the ones that underlie action...thus furnish[ing] a descriptive context for particular actions" (1984: 57, 58). In other words, the norms, ideals and signs "provide the rules of meaning" (1984: 58) so action can be interpreted.

Third, we need to become aware of the temporality of time, because according to Ricoeur (1984: 59), "[t]he understanding of action [not only includes understanding the conceptual network of action with its symbolic mediation, it]...goes so far as to recognize in action temporal structures that call for narration." We need to know how those we want to understand align with their idea of what happened in the past because the "'(as yet) untold' stories, stories that demand to be told...offer anchorage points for [future] narrative" (1984: 74). Identity is known through narratives so if I am questioning what its place in development is, I must listen to people's stories because it is there that identity will be revealed. The plot of the narrative, "grounded in the preunderstanding of the world of action" (1984: 54) gives order to the action and sustains the refiguration, in this case, the act of development.

For me, the reader of this text of other people's prenarrative structure, an important question arises: what is my world in front of the text, or in other words, "what does the text say to me and what do I say to the text" (1988: 175)? Ricoeur says that it is the act of reading connected to the capacity of plot (plot, that "opens the kingdom of the *as if*" [1984: 64]), that prolongs and brings to an end the "the dynamism belonging to the configuring act (1984: 71). It matters what we bring to the text because it is in the choices we make that enable us to imagine a future narrative together and helps us all to become who we are.

What we say to the text is based in a lifeworld with our own prenarrative structure that enables us to act or disables us from acting with those we meet in the world. How do we discern whether we are acting responsibly and ethically? Habermas' theory of the uncoupling of system and lifeworld based on the growth of "complexity of the one and the rationality of the other" (Habermas 1987: 153), gives insight into how we might unintentionally act irresponsibly, disregard the identity of the other, and negate some positive effects that come from development efforts.

As societies evolve and grow, differentiation, or, as referred to above, the uncoupling of system and lifeworld, occurs to keep pace with the growing complexity of interactions. Sociologists have analyzed this process of differentiation into "stages of social evolution as tribal societies, traditional societies or societies organized around a state, and modern societies...these stages are marked by the appearance of new systemic mechanisms and corresponding level of complexity" (1987: 153-54). As this process continues, the systemic mechanisms become more and more detached from the social structures until "modern societies attain a level of system differentiation at which increasingly autonomous organizations are connected...via delinguistified media of communication...for example, money—steer a social intercourse...largely disconnected from norms and values" (1987: 154). These system mechanisms must be anchored in the lifeworld, because "the lifeworld remains the subsystem that defines the pattern of the social system as a whole" (1987: 154); institutions, residing in the lifeworld, are created to keep them connected.

Two points about this process of evolution are pertinent to my present interests:

> In societies with a low degree of differentiation, systemic interconnections are tightly interwoven with mechanisms of social integration; in modern

> societies they are consolidated and objectified into norm-free structures.
>
> New levels of system differentiation can establish themselves only if the rationalization of the lifeworld has reached a corresponding level (1987: 154, 179).

An effect of this evolutionary process toward modernity is that in subsystems steered by delinguistified media (like money), while anchored in the lifeworld by institutions, the actions coordinated are transferred,

> from language over to steering media [and] means an uncoupling of interaction from lifeworld contexts. [By] *bypassing* processes of consensus-oriented communication...the transfer of action over to steering media appears from the lifeworld perspective both as reducing the costs and risks of communication...and thus, in this sense, as a *technicizing* of the lifeworld (1987: 183).

There are exceptions to this, however: when "trust in the possession of knowledge" is involved,

> whether cognitive-instrumental, moral-practical or aesthetic-practical [this] cannot have the same effect. Where reputation or moral authority enter in, action coordination has to be brought about by means of resources familiar from consensus formation in language. Media of this kind cannot uncouple interaction from the lifeworld context of shared cultural knowledge, valid norms and accountable motivations, because they have to make use of the resources of consensus formation in language. (1987: 183).

This means that specialized cognitive matters, like science oriented matters, can be properly mediated "only insofar as cultural values spheres...have been differentiated out, making it possible to treat the cognitive tradition exclusively under the validity aspect of truth" (1987: 184). Where they are aligned (the cognitive matter and value sphere) "communicative action can be steered through specialized influence, through such media as professional reputation and value commitment" but only to the extent that they are "already embedded in a virtually present web of communicative contents far removed in

space and time but accessible in principle" (1987: 184).

One implication of this process of evolution is that the prenarrative structures of people interacting from cultures at different stages of uncoupling will likely each have a different sense of reality and a different way of expressing it. This different sense of reality will affect significantly the two actors' ability to communicate with one another, and, in the process, conceal from each other their orientations to the world. This can lead to unintentional results, with the agents acting and suffering in circumstances they did not make (Ricoeur 1984: 54).

If we believe there is limited ability to mediate between cultures in different stages of evolution in the uncoupling of system and lifeworld, there would not be many reasons to do development work. If a scenario like this is not approached "with hermeneutic sensitivity and imagination" it could return us to an old, circular debate that "quickly came to revolve around the rival contentions of universalists and relativists" (Healy 2000: 74, 62) and a sense that we should leave well enough alone. But this is not an option or ethical choice in our interconnected, global experience. While cultures "are viewed as holistic frameworks of significance" from a hermeneutic perspective, they are also "mutually permeable and inherently open to one another" (2000: 67). If this openness can be mediated communicatively, it is possible to transcend the differences between the prenarrative structures and the different stages of evolution of lifeworld and systems. The differences between cultures thus become a productive horizon for interaction where identity is confronted and development occurs. The following synthesis of the data from two development practitioners is an opportunity to play with this idea which, in turn, may reveal a place for identity in development work.

IV. Synthesis of Data

As was reported earlier, the two "conversations" were not conversational as one was an informational interview and the other, a monologue by a "master spinner." Because of the power of the text there is still a good amount of information that can be synthesized from these exchanges. I will focus on three themes that stand out: the identity of the development practitioners, Jane and Brian, and how each of them is called to this work; the reality created in language when development issues are discussed and the future of development work if there is to be a place for identity in it.

I found it difficult to talk directly about the topic of identity with these two experienced and committed development practitioners. The course of questions began by asking Jane, "what drew you to this work? What was it about this work that you said, 'I want to do this...'" and she responded, in part,

> Initially, I knew people who were involved in the work, I didn't come to it as a stranger but I knew people in AIR [the firm where she worked] who were working in projects internationally, at the time that I was doing some domestic work and I was drawn to the activities, drawn to the work that they were doing, interested in what other people, other cultures were doing. At the same time, I was going back to school, to Carnegie Mellon to work on my doctorate and the opportunity to work on a curriculum project came up and each of the five people involved in this dissertation project had to choose a city about which they would do research so I picked a city in Nigeria because AIR had a project in Nigeria...

When I asked her "Do you have a sense why others are drawn to this work?" she said,

> Probably for similar reasons. A lot of people who are involved in this work are former Peace Corps workers and having been in the Peace Corps, more often than not they continue with a donor agency or with anybody who is doing work in the country. You feel a real sense of mission, and you feel...this is not a job necessarily, it is more a calling for some people.

One advantage I have in this particular conversation is that Jane and I have been very good friends for nearly 15 years. Her home is filled with artifacts, souvenirs and artwork

from her many trips to Africa and Central America. Her every day conversation is filled with this core interest—talks about her most recent travels or the group of people with whom she has offered hospitality or the event she and her husband attended with others working in the same field—all speak of this ever present call that she feels. At the same time she expresses gratitude for having the opportunities that she has had to do this work,

> I feel very blessed to work with people in so many parts of the world, to get to know and to be part of, in some ways, another culture, to learn about how other people think and what they do and to experience the incredible hospitality of other cultures, the willingness to be a part of an international thing...the...it is just a broader...it is an out of yourself experience, I think, because it would be very hard to be totally motivated by self interest and work with the people we do, at least it is for me.

Jane's prenarrative structure is anchored by a competence for action, action that implies her goals and motives of wanting to live this out because it is "part of my spirit and my sense of outreach and my...what I feel basically is my calling, is implicit in the work."

Brian's story has some different elements in it and yet the end result is that he, too, feels called to this work. While I was not able to audio tape all of our conversation, he said that he originally had gone to South Africa as a representative of InterVarsity, a collegiate Christian organization. While there he found himself working with the local Anglican churches, the denomination in which he grew up and still claimed. But there was something else about the church in South Africa: he saw it "at the center of civil society," deeply embedded in the culture from the colonial era because "wherever the Union Jack was planted, not only did churches go in, but hospitals, clinics, schools...Just about any government ministry in Anglophone Africa, there are Anglicans." When he finished seminary, rather than ordination, he organized an office to do anti-apartheid work at his parish and then five years later, moved on to World Vision. As Brian put it,

> George [Regas, the Rector at his church] really encouraged me in that direction instead of the priesthood. I went to see one of my seminary professors and he just about flipped out, "You don't want to go to work with World Vision. They are always re-organizing and changing." And I said I was willing to take that risk. And when I got into World Vision, and I lived through a couple of re-orgs, I realized: if a development organization is not always changing, it's not a development organization!

After some eight years with World Vision, he went to the Episcopal Relief and Development Organization because,

> It's my own church. I'd been there [World Vision] for 8 years and ...I mean, over and over again at a community/village level World Vision is working with the church, they're working with the Anglican Church. Most of the African World Vision Directors—the leadership—were Anglicans. Like everything else in civil society.

Integrated into Brian's narrative is a confluence in the order of action (the prenarrative structures, *mimesis*$_1$) between Brian and the cultures he experienced in Africa based on Anglicanism, which has been the basis for action as his life has been emplotted toward each new possible future. From InterVarsity to seminary and anti-apartheid activities to World Vision and now the Episcopal Relief and Development Organization, the plot of Brian's narrative is one of constancy of mission as he has continued to grow and development personally. This confluence and order has sustained each refiguration.

Neither Jane nor Brian had any problem talking about or identifying their own order of action and how deeply embedded in their own identity the sense of mission is for doing this work, but when the direct question of the place of identity in development work arose, it was perplexing to both. When I clarified what I was asking, a different set of words came up to describe the phenomenon of identity: in Jane's case, she used the words of "ownership, partnership and reciprocity," all of which fall within the collaborative model of development that she has nurtured for ten years.

> AM: ...The question I have is what the place of identity is in development. And a lot of what I am hearing you say if I can...is that there's work going on but...and it is longitudinal to some extent but... somehow the goals aren't about...helping someone develop and grow ...there's a sense of permanence and changing nature in our identity and the question is can we out of a separate culture come in to another place and know them well enough to know what they might need, what they desire in order to have a better life.
>
> JG: That's not my decision, to know what they need or to know what they desire. That decision comes from them, in our work together. Who's identity are you talking about, mine or theirs?
>
> AM: It's both. I think...
>
> JG: Because...another word for that would be "ownership". Part of the collaboration, part of the partnership and part of the working together and trying to instill a value of reciprocity is that people walk away seeing and understanding that this project, this is their activity. And giving the people the opportunity to be the visible ones, in charge, and responsible for and acknowledging them in a leadership role so that...I don't think there is any question in Malawi that this project in Save the Children in the Malawian institution is anything but a Malawian activity...

Language creates reality and the reality created by these words points toward different goals and motives for action than recognizing the place of identity in the work. As a result, the place of identity can be indirect at best, and ignored in extreme circumstances. The difference between these rests on the steering media of professional expertise and value commitment brought into the development project. Jane is balanced between the expertise she brings and a spirit that guides the collaboration, keeping the interactions always available communicatively. In too many other development scenarios the myth of "partnership" and "national ownership" are empty "rhetoric [used as] part of a strategic trend by international institutions to disguise interventions in political and economic reforms in sovereign states while also according to them greater legitimacy" (Crawford and Hermawan 2002: 225). Projects steered by the delinguistified media of money and

power result in ignoring identity issues because they "connect up interactions in space and time into more and more complex networks that no one has to comprehend or be responsible for" (Habermas 1987: 184).

What is the place of identity in development under these vastly different circumstances? The actors claim their own identity in the order of action but the explicit goals and motives conceal the issue. How might identity be the anchor of "intelligibility engendered by emplotment" (Ricoeur 1984: 54)?

I asked a similar question of Jane as she looks toward retirement in the next year.

> AM: And so you, wrapping up your time here it's the same question for you: how is this carried forward when you retire within this organization? Do you see the sense of others having grasped this wonderful sense of calling and desire to...have partners?
>
> JG: I don't think you transmit that to somebody else. I think you can illustrate by example, and you can live it out in your own life, but I don't think that is something I can...others pick it up as it suits them. But if they find that that's not suitable or appropriate, then it's not going to happen. And it's not something that I'm going to teach somebody else. It's something they have to see, be inspired by and also I think be secure enough inside to know that this is OK...because you're still working within a bureaucracy, you're still around people who are functioning from a different perspective, for whom transparency, for whom power, for whom turf is still very important.

Jane identifies the same problem that Habermas does: the governmental bureaucracy is steered by delinguistified media which makes it difficult for an individual to use their value commitments to steer communicatively. However, Brian shows that "when reputation or moral authority enter in, action coordination has to be brought about by means of resources familiar from consensus formation in language" (Habermas 1987: 183) in his story about World Vision's process of development in a village in Uganda that he visited with a group of Americans with a local Ugandan Bishop.

> ...the two county level development workers were these two young women, very beautiful...20-somethings...And they weren't even from that tribe. They were from a tribe from another part of the country and they had moved into the community and followed that model. They learned the dances, they learned the dialect, they became a part of the community. And the Bishop really felt Mark, the man, the big World Vision guy should be telling these rich Americans what was going on. Mark was empowering these two women and they in turn were empowering the village to tell their own story. ...And finally, at the end, the Bishop got up and says, "I always thought I knew what World Vision did. I always thought I knew what development was. No, I didn't. Today, I understand." The identity was clear by what he saw, not what he had been told.

To make a place for identity in development work, a strength of character is required, something Jane can identify in others (she tells a story about Sarah, the new head of the Africa Bureau at USAID who has "the same kind of spirit...[who] sees how important it is to build the relationships among the people" but also bemoans the fact that a new staff member has been a disappointment because she acts "exactly the opposite way, [with a] lack of sharing. There has been a lot of good [technical] work...but not everyone comes from the same kind of tradition"). This strength of character guides the competence for action. Making a place for identity also requires an understanding of the norms and ideals of the other culture and their sense of time as the Ugandan Bishop learned.

Knowing these elements of the prenarrative structure (*mimesis*$_1$) is part of confronting identity, an identity known only in narrative, emplotted to "allow us to integrate with permanence in time what seems contrary in the domain of sameness-identity, namely diversity, variability, discontinuity and instability" (Ricoeur 1992: 140). Narration also "preserves the meaning that is behind us so that we can have meaning before us. There is always *more* order in what we narrate than in what we have actually lived" (Ricoeur in Kearney 1995: 222). Because of this surplus of order and meaning, it

is in narrative where the differences between cultures become the productive horizon for interaction and where the relationships become the foundation for placing identity in international development work.

Jane is deeply moved by the experiences she has had with this work and especially now as she sees the horrors of HIV/AIDS and how it has decimated families, workers and friends. At the same time she can acknowledge that "death is part of what they live with, more so than Americans do...[so] there are still people who carry on." It requires adjustment on her part,

> I will now, for example, make a trip to Southern Africa and arrive expecting to do x, y, and z, meet these people and may not be able to see them because someone will have gone off for a funeral. And going to a funeral does not mean going to a church and show up for three hours, it means they accompany the body back to a village and it could be days. So, work is just interrupted at all levels because of that...

As people straddle the line between two worlds, the traditional world with cultural demands and the modern with its technical and communicative ones, a balance is required between a communicative spirit and technical expertise. These elements serve to create the relationships with horizons that are "mutually permeable and inherently open to one another" (Healy 2000: 67) so future development work reveals identity at its core. This is our ethical responsibility.

V. Analysis of Text

Even though these interactions with Jane and Brian were not conversational, my fears that the richness of these texts might not be exposed were allayed when the process of reading and rereading led me to the synthesis above. Because this inquiry falls in the category of "practical interest...[which] endeavors to understand the inherently human dimension of meaning achieved through the interpretation of messages exchanged in

everyday language," (Kearney 1994: 225) my own fusion of horizons has come while reflecting on the text of the conversations "by acquiring the horizon of the question—a horizon that...necessarily includes other possible answers" (Gadamer 1998: 370). This means looking "*behind* what is said...[because] meaning necessarily exceeds what is said..." (1998: 370). This excess of meaning creates the virtuous circle of questioning further, what Gadamer (1998: 367) calls "the art of thinking." This analysis represents my fusion of horizons after "what is meaningful passes into one's own thinking of the subject" (Gadamer 1998: 375).

In the synthesis above, I concluded that the place of identity in development has been indirectly mediated, if it is mediated at all. This conclusion is the result of analyzing Jane's and Brian's comments in relation to Habermas' theory of the uncoupling of system and lifeworld and $mimesis_1$ in Ricoeur's narrative theory. As long as the explicit goals and motives point to something else this will continue. When interactions are taken over by delinguistified steering media like power and money, actions are not understood nor can people be responsible for them (Habermas 1987: 184). There is hope however that identity can be recognized as long as interactions occur in a communicative medium. In order to create a balance where technical efficiency does not lead to dehumanization, Habermas proposed the redeeming of validity claims as an antidote. Through Jane Schubert's actions with her colleagues in country and on staff, through the operating model of World Vision, I have been able to glimpse this ideal in practice.

This is only part of the story. Another part is the mediation of the tension created when one must straddle the line between two different worlds, the traditional world and the modern. This is required of all actors in development, only their perspective differs.

How do all involved remain cognizant of the clash between their lifeworlds and the evolutionary stage of differentiation of systems? One key question that arises from this analysis is if identity is to be considered as core to development work, the place of development must be carefully assessed. The question is, is the "lifeworld sufficiently rationalized?" (Habermas 1987: 173) so, in Jane's case, approaches to educational interventions with western methodologies can be appropriated (because "increases in complexity are dependent on the structural differentiation of the lifeworld [1987: 173]). If development is occurring in school systems and not in the informal setting of the lifeworlds of the people of the respective country (like the literacy campaign documented in Les Gottesman's book *To Fight and Learn* [1998]) without answering this question, it seems likely that there will be wasted time, energy and money and ultimately, an avoidance of the issue of identity if this clash goes unrecognized.

There is one caveat to this perspective. Influence attached to,

> rationally motivated trust in the possession of knowledge...cannot have the same effect [because w]here reputation or moral authority enter in, action coordination has to be brought about by means of resources familiar from consensus formation in language. Media of this kind cannot uncouple interaction from the lifeworld context of shared cultural knowledge, valid norms and accountable motivation, because they have to make use of the resources of consensus formation in language (Habermas 1987: 183).

In part because of a history of colonization, most African countries have had schools operating in them for hundreds of years with Western ideals and approaches. It is a question of whether these ideals and approaches are part of the "shared cultural knowledge" now, part of the "virtually present web of communicative contents far removed in space and time but accessible in principle" (1987: 184) or,

> the extent [to which] the mythical understanding of the world actually

> steers action orientation, action oriented to mutual understanding of action oriented to success cannot yet be separated, and a participant's 'no' cannot yet signify the critical rejection of a validity claim. Myth binds the critical potential of communicative action... (1987: 159).

Based on the sincerity of Jane's statement that ownership, partnership and reciprocity are key to this particular project in Malawi and that "there is [no] question in Malawi that this project...is anything but a Malawian activity," I would say for now that in this case, the technology of educational evaluation has transcended the Western horizon and has been incorporated into the Malawian way of thinking.

Crucial to this conclusion is the hope that Jane gives me that identity can be addressed if the field of development is populated with many others with her sense of spirit and dedication to excellence. In this, I am left wondering about the future for governmental involvement in these activities based on her description of newer colleagues on staff with technical expertise not the same value commitment. But I am hopeful that non-governmental organizations like World Vision and Episcopal Relief and Development can gain in prominence as they continue to recognize the importance of true empowerment in the face of serious odds. I am encouraged by Brian's words, "I always say to people who come in with a narrow theology...just spend some time in the field for awhile. The realities of poverty and need change their theology." This perspective says that it is indeed in *mimesis*$_1$, in our prenarrative structure and that of those we encounter, where an order of action resides that sustains the refiguration of a positive role in the future, opening up the kingdom of "*as if*". It says that actors on all sides of development, by opening up the kingdom of "*as if*" play a role in defining the place of identity at development's core by acknowledging and living into the fact that our own identities are changed in the process by what we give and by what we give up.

VI. Summary

The purpose of this field project was to explore the question, "what is the place of identity in development work," and to assess its depth and its worth as a dissertation topic. The depth is there; I feel like I have only started a journey and am interested in following the paths that new questions point toward. Its worth has been validated in the interactions with Jane and Brian. It was at the point that the informational interview with Jane turned into a brief conversation (she stood up to get a pad of paper to take some notes). In Brian's monologue, it was when he stopped for a moment to actually think about my question on identity and responded, "That is such a key question. Come back. I'd like to have a conversation about that question. Right now, I'm stumped by it."

I have learned a great deal from the "failure" of these conversations; they have taught me how I might be a better conversation partner, not allowing my "opinion...[of my lack of knowledge to] suppress questions" (1998: 366). I know what areas I need to study to engage someone in a future conversation and how to stop a future interaction when it is clearly off track. The result is that I am propelled toward the next steps of this process looking forward to the possibilities that await discovery. I would thus call this pilot a successful venture as I imagine moving toward the larger goal, the development of a proposal and the researching and writing of a dissertation.

I keep asking myself, why this topic? What is motivating my interest in it? I have two answers to this question. One, I have read with interest the editorials of Thomas Friedman who has provided insightful coverage of the Arab world in the aftermath of the terrorists attacks. Issues of identity are at the core of the dis-ease in young Arab men attracted to terrorist activities, so we avoid this issue at our peril. In a

recent editorial (October 30, 2002), Friedman quotes a Bahraini independent news editor,

> 'There is a vacuum,' he said. 'You empty a person, you fill him with money, you fill him with material things, but that does not fulfill his aspirations as a human being. He has some objectives. He has feelings. He is not fulfilled. And all of a sudden someone comes and tells him that the cause of all that is this global power [America], which has insulated us, which continues to look at us as a bunch of nothings...And all of a sudden he directs his anger at what he thinks is the reason why he doesn't have what he wants—his sense of being a true human able to express himself and having influence on his society and being respected locally and internationally. This lack of respect as a dignified person has resulted in a bin Laden phenomenon.'

The second answer is more personal—I will end with the quote that has touched me more deeply than any other this semester that comes from a dialogue entitled "Ethics of the Infinite" that took place in 1981 between Richard Kearney and Emmanuel Lévinas, a man whose work figures prominently in Ricoeur's book, *Oneself as Another* (1992). Kearney explores in this dialogue the topic of the ethical relation to the other, a central theme in Lévinas' work. At one point, Lévinas describes "ethical responsibility" as,

> *insomnia* or *wakefulness* precisely because it is a perpetual duty of vigilance and effort which can never slumber...[L]ove cannot sleep, can never be peaceful or permanent. Love is the incessant watching over of the other; it can never be satisfied or contented with the bourgeois ideal of love as domestic comfort or mutual possession of two people living out an *égoisme-à-deux* (Kearney 1995: 195).

It is a kind of perpetual duty of vigilance and effort that is behind the responsibility I feel in seeking to work on this topic, because peace is only possible through communicative relationships with others, where we share our stories. And it is not just with the others we know but the "faceless other" who suffer in circumstances that they did not create. Perhaps the point of finding a way to place identity at the core of development work is one way to act ethically in a world where too many of us have fallen asleep.

Appendix 8
Description of Field Project
Anthropological Research
Fall 2002

My interest for this field project is to explore the question, "what place does identity hold in development?" and to determine if it is substantial enough for my dissertation work. This question arises out of a recent conversation and the work done on my Master's thesis in which I was interested in "offering a different design medium to appropriate and assess action...so people participating in meaning-making acts could lead organizations to act differently, which leads to a transformed sense of being,"[1] of both the organization and the individuals in it. This transformed sense of being can also be called identity. Other questions have come up subsequently and show how my interest is peaked by this exploration: if all parties engaged in development are open to transformation of their identities, what are the effects on development work, on funding agencies? If the key to sustained development lies in the openness of all parties to be changed, what is the implication for development work? How can a liminal space be instrumental in mediating the possibility of allowing "dialogical equality"[2] so all can participate in making new meaning? How can cultural differences be a productive horizon for recognizing and refiguring one's identity? The questions, the conversations and the analysis of the text to follow will likely be informed by theories of Paul Ricoeur (e.g., the voluntary and involuntary, *idem/ipse*, self/other and mimesis$_{1,2,3}$), Victor Turner (liminality) and Jürgen Habermas (communicative action).

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[1] Abstract from my Master's Thesis, "Appropriating Meaning in Transformation: An Ontological Perspective of Assessment," Fall 2000.
[2] Paul Healy, "Self-other relations and the rationality of cultures" in Philosophy and Social Criticism, Vol. 26, no. 6 (November 2000), page 65.

The two people with whom I will have conversations are Brian Sellers-Petersen, West Coast Operations Director for Episcopal Relief and Development (ERD) and Jane Schubert, Ph.D., a Project Director for American Institute for Research (AIR). Brian has an extensive background in international development with World Vision and other non-governmental organizations. Jane has over 30 years of experience in international development working primarily in women's and girl's equity issues in education, funded mainly by USAID. Both have developed and worked on collaborative models for development with the hope that this approach sustains results after the project is over. My initial contact with both has been favorable as they see this as an interesting topic and, from Brian's perspective, it is also an important topic to pursue. My brief encounters with both tell me to expect two very different conversations, because of the context of their work (NGO and governmental), the values of these organizations and the metaphors and language each used as we talked.

In my initial contact conversations, I know that both Brian and Jane have on-the-ground experience in South Africa during the period of apartheid and for Jane, also during the first two years of the transition that followed. This will be helpful in terms of situating some of our conversations. They also have extensive experience in other countries throughout the world although I have yet to determine if there are any other similar times/places where they have worked. The research conversations will take place in Seattle, Washington in the offices of ERD on November 13, 2002 and in Springfield, Virginia on November 7, 2002.

Appendix 9
Transcript of Conversation with Jane Schubert
November 7, 2002

AM:...I guess we could keep going on this but I guess I want to come to this issue of identity...it feel like we are way far away from understanding how the people are reacting in these circumstances. But...I guess what I want to find out...I am going to shift gears completely here, we will probably come back to talk tonight or something. I do think I am going to want to reflect on some of what we are talking about...but what drew you to this work? What was it about this work that you said, "I want to do this..."

JG: Initially, I knew people who were involved in the work, I didn't come to it as a stranger but I knew people in AIR who were working in projects internationally, at the time that I was doing some domestic work and I was drawn to the activities, drawn to the work that they were doing, interested in what other people, other cultures were doing. At the same time, I was going back to school, to Carnegie Mellon to work on my doctorate and the opportunity to work on a curriculum project came up and each of the five people involved in this dissertation project had to choose a city about which they would do research so I picked a city in Nigeria because AIR had a project in Nigeria. And then I visited Nigeria to do research for my dissertation.

AM: This was before the 80s...

JG: This was in the early 70s... and so I became somewhat drawn into that and then was invited to be part of a team that did an evaluation of an African primary science/math program and that was in the 70s... and I did that and when an opportunity came by I would take advantage of it...and then, I'm trying to think...I just did bits and pieces of things but I never really had any real project of my own and AIR...even though they were a major leader in the development community it had withdrawn for some period of time and then decided it wanted to return to development work and so I was commissioned with trying to bring us back into the fold and we had bits and pieces of success in that and then I left AIR. And then was invited to come back to direct this project, if it was successful...though it was not AIR at the time (International Institute for Research, IIR). And it was successful and that was when I got involved in the improving educational quality project.

AM: Do you have a sense of why others are drawn to this work?

JG: Probably for similar reasons. A lot of people who are involved in this work are former Peace Corps workers and having been in the Peace Corps, more often than not they continue with a donor agency or with anybody who is doing work in the country. You feel a real sense of mission, and you feel...this is not a job necessarily, it is more a calling for some people.

AM: Do you have a sense of how you are different, how you have changed as a result of this work since you did other work before?

JG: I think clearly one shift has been a broader understanding of the international community. I feel very blessed to work with people in so many parts of the world, to get to know and to be part of, in some ways, another culture, to learn about how other people think and what they do and to experience the incredible hospitality of other cultures, the willingness to be a part of an international thing...the...it is just a broader...it is an out of yourself experience, I think, because it would be very hard to be totally motivated by self interest and work with the people we do, at least it is for me. To work with the people we meet...it is very difficult not to be drawn into who they are, what they do and why they do it and not be moved in some way. I think I have a broader...having been among people who live with so much less than we do, I think I can understand why people don't like Americans in many ways, the avarice, the waste often...on a one on one level there is a lot of friendship and community, but from one nation to another, we are just a different sort of people, we really are a people of plenty, and I watch people who have much less and in many cases, do much more with what they have and are willing to share, often... the people with whom we are working, the team members, this isn't necessarily the governments who have private planes and are squandering their own people's money, as in the case of Malawi, where they've sold off all the grain and all the country is starving, that is a different level of play. And that's the sort of thing that's turning the US government off now to when you see the corruption and the squandering at a national level and the industriousness of the people, there is a big disconnect there.

AM: Isn't some of that though being driven by some of the Structural Adjustment Programs that the World Bank and the IMF put them through?

JG: I don't think the President of Malawi selling a full store of grain for some sum of money that has yet to be accounted for is a function of structural adjustment. I think...he is doing that because...

AM: He wants a piece of the action...

JG: Yes, he wants a piece of the action.

AM: But it seems that in some of the study that I've done on some of those structural adjustment programs they really kind of push some of the countries to sell things like their grain because that was the product that they have to put on the market. And without the consideration of what that would mean, in terms of is there a baseline of how much this country needs...

JG: Yeah, I think countries are driven into debt, I mean I think the World Bank in many ways, through a lot of these very expensive loans....countries go loan after loan after loan and there's very little debt relief and they simply are not in a position to borrow the money or to repay the money. But there is a strain on the system because there are more people to feed, there are more people to educate within the educational system...there is HIV/AIDS now, the countries just cannot keep up with the plague of HIV/AIDS, there has been no...no matter how much prevention there is, the situation is getting worse

instead of better in almost every case, particularly in Africa, and I think also in Southeast Asia, though I know less about Southeast Asia.

AM: Were you working in Uganda when they put forward the prevention programs?

JG: yes... and it is considered, Uganda is considered one of the success stories...

AM: Have you been back recently?

JG: No, 1999 was the last time I was there...I think there is some slippage there, but Uganda is still held up as a model because they were among the first to openly advocate preventive measures for their population and in Uganda, you can see posters all over the place to protect yourself...you see that in Malawi too.

AM: What is the implication of HIV/AIDS...like on a project like you were just talking about?

JG: It is devastating because it means that you...it is difficult to think about doing business as usual, because in the education sector, you are losing...within all sectors, you are basically losing the work force because the people...the interesting phenomenon about the AIDS data is that in the places more urban where there is more education, more work...I don't want to say higher quality of life, but a different standard of living, all the criteria for development that are present, are also the locus of where most of the HIV/AIDS is located, less so in the rural areas that is known, but more so among the interaction of the people, so the workforce, the future generations, those are the ones who are being decimated, those are the ones who are dying. And the rates not only of death but the strain on a family or a system because they are caring for sick relatives or they are caring for orphaned children, the orphaned children are an enormous issue...the street children in Zambia, the children whose parents have died. One of our colleagues has passed away, he leaves a wife and four children and the four...the wife lives on the land in the village of the husband and the uncle of the husband is now trying to take over the property and maybe even the wife, I don't know...of the deceased colleague, so it is a transformation...it is just incredible.

AM: How do they even focus on education when these life and death issues are facing them?

JG: well, life and death...yes, well, from our point of view, yes it is certainly a very real phenomenon. But on side of the coin, death is part of what they live with, more so than Americans do.

AM: They have always...

JG: They've always lived with death. People die. People have malaria...

AM: ...Like in childbirth...

JG: yeah, they die. They die in childbirth, children die, aunts and uncles die, grandparents take care of...we get malaria we get hysterical, they get malaria, they go to bed and a few days later they get up, or in some cases, they may die. And the loss is sad, and it's real, and it may make a difference in family income or wealth or level of poverty whatever, but life goes on...life goes on. But I think no one, no sector has really adjusted to the phenomenon and the impact of AIDS yet. There's a very large and quite successful team called the Mobile Task Force Team that operates out of South Africa but works within Sub Saharan Africa, to try to introduce at a management level how one can provide for teachers, what you can do just to keep track of what's happening within your system in terms of AIDS. I will now, for example, make a trip to Southern Africa and arrive expecting to do x, y, and z, meet these people and may not be able to see them because someone will have gone off for a funeral. And going to a funeral does not mean going to a church and show up for three hours, it means they accompany the body back to a village and it could be days. So, work is just interrupted at all levels because of that, it is just unbelievable.

AM: It's hard to fathom how you can have continuity in the work that you are trying to do with that kind of plague...

JG: There are still people who carry on...not everyone is dead...people carry on.

AM: Is there anything comparable to that that we think of? Is there something that we just carry on through? I don't think societally we have...maybe an earthquake...

JG: We don't have anything like this...[yeah, maybe an earthquake]

AM:...but that is such a temporary thing...

JG: Well, you might think about in San Francisco in the 80s when how HIV/AIDS was claiming so many people that we knew; the community was devastated by that but life went on for those still around. But I think we have to look at the way we do business ...train teachers, who those people are, what does it mean to be a trained teachers, what does it mean to be in a learning situation where you are facilitating learning for children. We haven't really changed that notion of school very much. A lot of NGOs are trying to assume responsibility for education, but we're still, in most cases, focused on schools, even though there's non-formal education. And so major shifts in who does what, except for a Save the Children who has been working with community school and community teachers for a long period of time is not considered part of the norm yet, or trying to move that into the system.

AM: Is that because it is too far away?

JG: yeah, it is too distant and part of it is denial...it is moving a system around and education probably moves slower, in almost every country it moves slower than every other sector...the health sector responds, the population sector, you know, you take a pill

or you introduce contraception and there's a response but education never seems...even in the United States.

AM: It's like you say, longitudinal.

JG: It lags...yeah...

AM: This summer when I was here, I spent some time talking to some folks at the Global Health Bureau, there were two of the fellows for the organization that I was working with. And one of them, they get too involved with the politics over there so they can't see what is really going on. When they are out in field they can see it, but they are so caught up in what's going on in the building here in Washington that they can't quite visualize what it is that they need to do because they are so far removed from it. It's almost...you are layers removed from it with education, but this is an implication of the society that you are walking into. Mostly...you have been working in Africa, do you have this in your Latin America sites?

JG: Not to the extent, not in Honduras, not to the extent. It is not talked about that much in Guatemala either. I think it is present in Southeast Asia but we don't have any projects there.

AM: But mostly it is this project...

JG: My knowledge is mostly in Africa. Southern Africa particularly and most recently.

AM: How do you collaborate? With the model that you think about...I am just having a hard time getting my mind around the severity...what has happened to the people?

JG: Remember, not everyone is dying. You could still be infected...

AM: But they are not getting medication either...it is not chronic like it is here now...

JG: Right...you are still working. You are still working and there is some medication that's going into...but you don't talk about it. The colleague who died as it happened, died of HIV/AIDS but we didn't know that. And that was never, ever, ever mentioned that that was the cause of death. Never. Never discussed. As well as we knew him.

AM: Talk about...not knowing someone...oh my gosh.

JG: Only among a certain element of people is it even recognized and acknowledged as a big issue. But in lots of parts of Africa it is not.

AM: yeah, look at South Africa...the president...

JG: The president is in total denial!

AM: Do you have any sense how you might engage someone in a discussion about identity? I am sitting here...

JG: Tell me what you mean a little bit about what you mean about identity, because you mention identity but yet none of our conversation is really focused on it.

AM: Well, and we are all around it.

JG: yeah...

AM: You got really close to it in a couple of...

JG: What are you trying to get to?

AM: Well, I think...the question I have is what the place of identity is in development. And a lot of what I am hearing you say if I can...if my foggy brain reflects on some it... is that there's work going on but...and it is longitudinal to some extent but...there is not a...somehow the goals aren't about...helping someone develop and grow...I think this is part of what I still have to figure out in my...I am going to struggle with this for a little bit...there's a sense of permanence and changing nature in our identity and the question is can we out of a separate culture come in to another place and know them well enough to know what they might need, what they desire in order to have a better life.

JG: That's not my decision, to know what they need or to know what they desire. That decision comes from them, in our work together. Who's identity are you talking about, mine or theirs?

AM: It's both. I think...

JG: Because...another word for that would be "ownership". Part of the collaboration, part of the partnership and part of the working together and trying to instill a value of reciprocity is that people walk away seeing and understanding that this project, this is their activity. And giving the people the opportunity to be the visible ones, in charge, and responsible for and acknowledging them in a leadership role so that...I don't think there is any question in Malawi that this project in Save the Children in the Malawian institution is anything but a Malawian activity. I don't think there is any question.

AM: and you come in and provide support to that?

JG: yeah, we're facilitators. I think that is the big shift between what was perhaps done in the early 60s and 70s and probably into the 80s and what we are trying to do now. Another example in Addis Ababa, another piece of the Malawi work...in Addis Ababa, I did a whole piece on teacher professional development but I facilitated some conversation, but when there were presentations to be made about who was doing what I always invited individuals from the countries to make those presentations about their own activities in their own country. So, a piece of what we are doing on continuous

assessment in Malawi was presented by the two Malawians that we had brought up. And they were phenomenal, absolutely phenomenal. And it was mentioned at the end of the conference among the 11 countries as the thing they most wanted to know more about. And either the conversation...you know, one of the presenters is a Ph.D., one has been around for, worked in the field of education for a long time, they know what they are talking about and they are the ones who have done the presentations. There's no question that this is not mine and if people ask me about that I always, always throw it over to them and if it doesn't look the same after the contract is officially finished, then that is OK; what they've learned is...the skill of a particular methodology, a way of working with teachers, a way of examining systematically an implementation of an activity, developing...analyzing data, developing reports, presenting information in ways that it can be utilized and when we are no longer providing the support, those skills are not going to be lost. And that is part of the legacy, they will continue to carry those skills forward.

AM: Are they pertinent skills for where the country is and for what the country needs?

JG: sure, sure. Any kind of technical skill, related to design. in our case, implementation of evaluation, use of information, there are always people within a government that are going to be responsible for that. They aren't skills that are off the wall, they're skills that are part of, in our case, the educational system that are required and desirable for knowing more about what happens within the classroom. Our focus is the classroom. Most people don't spend as much time in a classroom as we do but the value again is that any kind of reform or intervention effort, the ultimate beneficiary we hope is the pupil. And if the pupil isn't benefiting in some way, from a reading program or a teacher training program then we need to know about that and so that's why we spend so much time looking at what happens in the classroom because that's the workplace of the learner. To find out the extent to which a difference is being made. And all the people engaged in that activity see that, see that focus. There may be a team of 15 people between Save the Children and the Malawian Institution of Education but when it's time to go into the field to collect the data, we bring in another 85 people from teacher training institutions and the district education office to help us collect the data. All those people have been trained in the methodology, know the instrument and are able to apply and collect the data. So, each of those people is also affected because they have learned something new about the way to look at what happens in a classroom that they didn't know before. And I'm not going to take that away from them.

AM: Right. It's an interesting thing to hear you talk about it as ownership, that that...

JG: I'm just using that word because that is part of the common lexicon but it is also identity, because it is theirs. It's theirs, it's not mine.

AM: Right...and then how do they appropriate it to make it Malawian? Because you've brought technical skills in from a very Western perspective of assessment and curriculum and all of these things that you talk about, how is it that...

JG: well, it's not just Western. It's a technical...it's a technical experience, and technical skills that are simply new to another methodology. A lot of the quantitative work that is done here are skills that are also held by people who have been trained in the same kind of institutions. Esmay Casmira who is working with us in the analysis of these gain score data for example, has been trained in Sussex, England, so she knows just as much as Corey does [who is in the Washington office] about the analysis of data. So, it isn't a western, it's not a western skill.

AM: but, trained in a Western university, if she was trained in Sussex.

JG: yeah, but it's not a western skill. It's a technical skill. It's a technical skill. And there are schools in Malawi who would have the same kind of training, but maybe not to the extent now that we have. So, I would not say that is a Western value, I will give you another example that I think is: in education a Western value is for pupils and teachers to interact with one another and we think that is advantageous because it is a learner centered curriculum. That's a western idea because in many of the cultures in which we're working the traditions and culture have the teacher as the authority figure and the pupils as not. So, to try to impose learner centered activities, it's not always readily accepted, even though pedagogically it may be more sound, culturally it may not be accepted...

AM: I saw that in Japan...

JG: yeah...So...you have to have...that would be a better example I think of what a western value would be in bringing into another culture...

AM: So, you don't bring that in but what you are saying to me is that there is this underlying technical methodology that crosses cultures...

JG: ...yes, any profession...yeah.

AM: ...from within...but it is somehow within a certain paradigm of analysis, it seems to me, I mean it sounds very quantitative...

JG: well, we also use...look at qualitative data

AM: right, right...but it is empirical. I mean, it is all empirical so...

JG: empirical isn't necessarily a western idea...

AM: no, but it certainly comes out of a western idea for me. It comes out of Descartes where we talk about...you know, the separation between spirit and mind...and at that point we separated these things and so we are not going to get into...in a paradigm like this, discussions of identity, where we start talking about someone's being in the world when we're talking about "I think, I am". So, I think that's where I'm missing, where I have to find a way to talk about this a little bit differently and why I think my other

conversation is going to be very interesting with Brian Sellers-Petersen who is with the Episcopal Relief and Development organization because they are concerned about spirit. There's a concern...he and I talked very briefly...and it wasn't about conversion, there's still about needs and responding to people's needs and so on, but the value system with which they approach it is different.

JG: But I think that is one of the lessons from Africa that I come away with, is that there is not that separation of mind and spirit, that we force people to have here. It isn't just about separation of church and state which is a bureaucratic issue, but there is more an acknowledgement of the holistic way, approach to work with people and being with people. There is often a beginning of the meeting, a meeting may begin with prayer, and often a reference to a spirit, there is not the bashfulness in African cultures that I have noticed about the other...one's...one's faith as there is here. That's been a real lesson for me.

AM: How then, does that get somehow built into this analysis? That somehow that is underlying, there's meaning in people's lives in that sense of spirit but what you've talked to me about is this analysis of technical things and I'm trying to...

JG: But you didn't ask about the other piece. So, anybody...so, one of the things that we do is, say, we're doing a run on the [can't understand]...we're looking at gain scores, we're looking how the teachers use the textbooks. I will not...Corey and I will not sit down and say, this is what it means. We may say, "this is what the numbers show," but what we then do is go back, and in Malawi have the conversations and say, "what do you think that this means? What's going on here? Why do we see more teachers from the certificate programs using materials in a way that other so-called trained teachers aren't?" And so the interpretation of what we're learning is not ours, it's not ours. The people, our colleagues and friends in Malawi have to...are part of the interpretation.

AM: So, you bring the data...or what you've culled from the data...

JG: Normally, they would do that, that is what we've had to take back is some of the processing of the data, but Esmay is a part of that as well. So, then we have to sit down and say, what does this mean? And why does it look the way it does and what is the implication for next steps? But that is not, we don't depend on us just for the interpretation. Because that is not the value of our activity, it's not the value of working together in collaboration. Because I can't interpret that, I'm not...it's not what I think I need to be doing. The meaning and use come from our colleagues in the country, so in Ghana when we were looking at the implementation of a policy, a government policy to use local language as the medium of instruction in lower primary classes, there were just a lot of disconnects that the data revealed and it was more a qualitative study than quantitative. But what it meant and why those findings emerged were not ours to really say but we were working with Ph.Ds at the University of Ghana who were language specialists who knew far more than we did. And they were working with us because it was a mechanism for them to do work that they wanted to do, that we happened to have the project and the money came from USAID and they worked with us because this was

something that they were interested in doing too. And it was a mechanism for them to do some of their own work. But they're the ones who are writing the papers, they're the ones who are conducting the research advisory meetings, they're the ones going to the government, I'm not doing that and they continue to do that even when...we are finished.

AM: and so there is a separation of roles certainly in this collaboration but it sounds like from what you are saying that you do....

JG: well, everybody has a role...

AM: right, right...but...that there is some way...that is not captured in the project, but is in the relationship of the people that allows you to see how people change and who they are.

JG: we haven't attempted to capture that. We have and we are attempting to capture the changes that occur within the system. We have captured the changes in the way people may use the methodology, we have done a little bit on how people professionally and personally change...we did a little critical incident study on that. But we haven't analyzed the data from that yet, about what difference does this make, we did in both Honduras and here. And that's about as far as we have gone. We haven't done a particular piece of work that says where...where have you done...but it's an idea that when people come together in another week or so to look at the legacy that is left, we know we want to look at the capacity for those skills and experience that have been developed, for them to look more at...I don't know how to ask the question, though about identity or...I mean, I don't know quite how to get that, because articulating that is very difficult.

AM: and obviously, I am still struggling with that. This is my first conversation about this.

JG: It's a hard one...it's hard to get at the intangibles because Ray Chesterfield and I had this conversation...a colleague of mine who has been with me 10 years on this project...we often have this conversation that how do you try to articulate that which has been transforming in many ways, among all of us...in words that may not...that may be inadequate to really convey where that transformation has occurred.

AM: And everyone has been transformed....transformed in so many different ways.

JG: Somebody, everybody has been touched in some way.

AM: Because everyone coming from their different cultural backgrounds and histories and so on and you come together...

JG: a weaving...

AM: right...and for me there's the question that I have, and this is just theoretical is there a way to have some kind of equal dialogue, that equal voices are heard in the dialogue of how those changes have occurred in people's lives? So, there's a new narrative that is written that comes out of that, this weaving as you said. This weaving of these different stories. Because part of what I'm interested in...the question was actually asked of me a week or so ago, is how do you think about identity change over a long period of time, but the short time span that these projects occur, how do you...you just used the word "legacy"...what is...how do you really get at...the project is coming to an end, how do help people really feel their own change and how they are then going to sustain it going forward? And I think that's an identity issue. I don't think it's just an "ownership" issue; when I think of "ownership" as a metaphor as very different than something sinking down into my sense of being.

JG: yeah, I think there's no doubt that somehow or other people carry forward what it is what they have learned, either a skill or an experience or a way of relating to people in a new activity. And we tried to do that a little bit with some folks who were back to do a follow up but it wasn't a very...it isn't a very well done piece of work. But...we don't really have that articulated really clearly. We talk about, but we haven't really put it together.

AM: I think...

JG: It also requires still being in touch with people after some period of time, which on most USAID projects....we've been very fortunate because some of our work has been six months, some of it has been a year, but some of it has been maybe two to three to four years. And so it would be important to go back then to find out what difference in fact has been made in people's lives, and that's essentially the question. What difference has been made in your life? And where do you see that difference and how is it reflected in what you now think and do? That is basically the question that I think you are asking.

AM: And how are you going to live that out going forward? You know, it's not just how are you different today but how do see that as part of who you are going forward? Now...it's partly because the opportunity for the learning and the collaboration has happened in the project but they are then going to take that and move it into some new piece of their lives, whether it's work related or family or whatever. And so it becomes this essential piece but missed...I'm fascinated with what you said is that it's just captured and yet when you and Ray talk...

JG: it's a whole different strand of activity.

AM: Right, right.

JG: It's not an incidental thing. And so there are some things that simply go missing...in a piece of work like this. And capturing that is beginning...we try to do it anecdotally or informally, but to capture that in a formal way is a whole separate piece of work. Which at the moment I can't begin to undertake, I can do this in...when we bring people

together in the next week or so...but in order to do it correctly, you'd have to do another whole activity and be in country with people and talk with them...

AM: yeah...and it is also configuring the story in such a way...each person configuring their own story around it, it's not just the incidences...

JG: yeah, that is right...

AM: ...but it's really bringing them together so there is this greater meaning I think that comes out of that kind of configuration. But it doesn't come without the reflection.

JG: That's right...that's right. And we're coming together to do an exchange and reflection. When we have any kind of conference or seminar, whatever, from the beginning, we have always called it an exchange and that was my idea and I did it intentionally. Because I wanted to communicate from the outset that it was not the same old workshop...and language is an issue. You have to be very careful about language, the same old language doesn't always apply. You have to spend time with that. We haven't...we've been good in some ways, but maybe not in others.

AM: Well, and when you say "language" are you talking...English...I mean, everyone is in the same language.

JG: I'm talking about expression.

AM: Expression.

JG: So, if I use the word "reciprocity" which very few other people use, I use the word "exchange" to mean to bring people together, and now I hear other people beginning to use that within USAID and other places. "Partnership" to us has a very special meaning, about the relationship around the table, and recognition that everybody has something to say.

AM: So, you are having a session with these people?

JG: I'm bringing people...I invited people from the first contract and the second contract to come together in another week because the contract is ending in another six months to reflect on what our contributions have been to the field of education as it is in the international community, what have we done at a national level, what have we done at an international...how should that be communicated, have a lot of those activities that we had, the products that we developed, are they sufficient? Should we be doing something else? Who should be doing the talking and what should it look like? And then, your question, how does it carry forward? What are the building blocks and how does it carry forward? And so, there's an international education week sponsored by our Department of Education and the State Department here so I have taken a spot on that program and so we'll have three or four people from the countries lead a discussion among the participants, whoever happens to show up about this whole issue of quality and what it

looks like. But they'll do that. I may introduce them, but basically, they'll do that. We've always since day one invited the country colleagues to come the Comparative International Education Society because they represent their own projects, I don't...

AM: you just cheer them from the back of the room...

JG: or I introduce them or facilitate a conversation...or whatever...but they...it is important for them to...and we're the only people who really do that.

AM: I guess that's my sense from the very beginning when you went on this project 10 years ago, that there was something very special and connected to who you are.

JG: yeah, I think that is right...

AM: I mean, I think that that is why this has been such an amazing experience I think and what little bit I've listened to...but it is so engrained in you. In your sense of...

JG: In part of my spirit and my sense of outreach and my...what I feel is basically...is my calling is implicit in the work...

AM: And so you, wrapping up your time here it's like the same question for you: how is this carried forward when you retire within this organization? Do you see the sense of others having grasped this wonderful sense of calling and desire to...have partners?

JG: I don't think you transmit that to somebody else. I think you can illustrate by example, and you can live it out in your own life, but I don't I think that is something I can...others pick it up as it suits them. But if they find that that's not suitable or appropriate, then it's not going to happen. And it's not something that I'm going to teach somebody else. It's something they have to see, be inspired by and also I think be secure enough inside to know that this is OK...because you're still working within a bureaucracy, you're still around people who are functioning from a different perspective, for whom transparency, for whom power, for whom turf is still very important.

AM: Are you going to miss it?

JG: Oh sure, I'm going to miss a lot of things about it. I'm going to miss particularly the work within the countries which is one of the reasons why I'm cutting back on management activity and will not manage the new project, which I think will be a nightmare in management. And I won't take the Microsoft Project course [laughter]...

AM: That's a good thing!

JG: That's OK...so I'm not going to judged on my abilities like that...my job is to have a kind of conversations that I have with people coming here to finish out the work in Malawi, and others, and do whatever...and that is what I'm going to do. I still have one other project that I'm managing for the Africa Bureau but there's a new leader there, and

I really like this new lady a lot. And...this...Africa Bureau is one of the geographic bureaus within USAID and within the re-organization the geographic bureaus are...some of their technical work is moving into a more centralized function within a general area which unfortunately...where there are not a lot of educators so there is a lot of tension in some of this re-organization but the point is that there have been leaders in the last couple of years of this particular group that have been very unfortunate, have not been leaders, have just been passing through. And there are a lot of people on this team who have been very much afraid, who have been fighting for battles, there has been a lot of wasted time spent on this kind of thing...and I just can't stand it, I am just too old for this. But now, comes a new leader, a woman who has been appointed, who brings in team that she's been working with so there's a blending of two teams and with a lot of trepidation on the part of everybody because they have a history of not getting along to do a particular piece of work. And her first day, she said, "OK, we're going to go around the table and we're just going to talk about what you do and I want you to understand that I know that you all don't want to be here. And my job is to build a team and to see that we work together and the issues that you have should be expressed at this table or with me and not outside this room and so we need to get this straight right away. So then, we'll go around the table ...da, da, da,da, da. " So we did. And everybody said, "you know, I graduated from here, and I do this, and I do this." And she said, "Now, we are going to go around the table again." [laughter] "You beat your own drum...now, talk about yourself. What do you do that you like to do...tell me...something about yourself that nobody else knows..." You know old training... "blah, blah, blah, blah..." You know, laughter started and so on and so forth. And she said, "we have to all go to Addis Ababa you know in another month and we are going to go as a unit, we're not going to go as a lot of stuff between people, as two separate teams...but coming together. So, we are going to have a retreat, and it is going to be on such and such a day and everybody is expected to show up." Well, it wasn't convenient for everybody but we all came. And she is a woman about my age, so she and I are about the same age, and so she just carries on like this, she acknowledges when somebody has done something well, she'll take time to say thank you, she's a no nonsense person and she wants people to share responsibility for things so you do not own the annual report, but everyone participates in doing that. And so, it has been very difficult for a lot of people but I think she is fabulous and so after the Addis meeting, she just said "You know, I thought this was going to be a real problem, but I am just here to say thank you, and I thought it was just wonderful and this and this and this person did all this things..." and she's just great. So, at one point...how did I know this?....I said to her, "Sarah, I really enjoy working with you. This has been such a refreshing change." And she said, "well, I think we are of an age where you know what's important in life." But I said to her "yes" but I said to her, "you're doing the right thing for the world[can't understand] too...build trust." Now, build trust hasn't come yet, but to try to build the team, etc., etc. And then for some reason I started to tell her about the round table we were doing at St. Alban's...and she said to me, "isn't that an Episcopal Church?" And I said yes and she said she belonged to such and such a place...shezam! But the point is, she is coming from the same kind of spirit, and so she is seeing how important it is to build the relationships among the people. And you see, no one can tell her that and they aren't going to tell the other people who are fighting. That comes from within, it is not taught. That's my point.

AM: Yeah, there's a piece of our character that moves us in that direction.

JG: yes. And I have a neighbor over here who is just exactly the opposite and her membership on the staff for me has been a big disappointment because I work with people here...I've been the senior person here for a long time, so I'm accustomed to working with people here in a certain way, and now here comes someone, almost my equivalent [in seniority?], and with exactly the opposite way, lack of sharing...why should I ask you if I can use a certain person? The reason you ask is because she works for me, and because we work together, you know, you don't just go to a junior staff member and make it difficult for them to say no. It's that kind of... this is not going be a good way to be...

AM: It's like a different generation...

JG: I just want to stay away from it...and that's not a good idea either. That's not the way I work with people. So, I think it must be a...within a different culture...it's a different culture.

AM: It's like a different kind of person drawn to this work...that was one of my early questions, who is drawn to this work?

JG: yes, that's right, that's exactly right. And I think technically, there has been a lot of good work in the different perspectives...how she lives and works with other people, but it is not a uniform endorsement, but those who think it is good are very strong supporters, and you know, not everyone comes from the same kind of tradition, shall we say.

AM: shall we stop?

JG: I think so...yes.

Appendix 10
Transcript of Conversation with Brian Sellers-Petersen November 13, 2002

(Conversation began in the car. Brian started talking about an event that will be held next week, an initiative addressing issues on AIDS in Sub Saharan Africa. They are assembling experts from the Gates Foundation, the University of Washington's School of Public Health, The World Bank, and Episcopal Relief and Development to address the issues, needs, and potential solutions that Episcopal parishes can address. This is the first step of planning a pilgrimage to Africa next spring. Brian's point to me was that the power and influence in the Episcopal church are in congregations so this is why this initiative is aimed at priests and lay leaders from some selected parishes. This transcript joins this conversation in progress.)

BSP: The theology of the road trip...and...what do you think about the Bible...Mary and Joseph took a road trip to Bethlehem from Nazareth. Moses' wasn't so hot, you know, he wandered in the desert for 40 years...

AM: That's the quintessential one...

BSP: ...the disciples were sent out 2 by 2, Paul went on his missions, journeys, it's all about [transformation]...what happened in the context, even Moses' road was transformational, lives were changed. So---what I've said all along, "I'm happy to work with you guys but you need to go to Africa, go there yourself. You need to do what Greg Shaw [the fellow who, by going to Africa himself became aware of the need and started agitating to do something; this initiative is an outgrowth of his interest and concern] did with Carter and Gates." And so, I'm asking a suburban rector of a multi-staff church, "hey, Bud, two weeks [in Africa]"...

AM:...on the ground...

BSP: ...on the ground, two weeks."

AM: I love what you said...Greg said, he saw the Anglican Church...

BSP: ...yeah, the Anglican Church at the center of civil society. I mean, you think about the colonial era, wherever the Union Jack was planted, not only did churches go in, but hospitals, clinics, schools, trained the elite. Just about any government ministry in Anglophone Africa, there are Anglicans. I know a guy, really high up with Coca-Cola Africa, based in Nairobi, son of a priest. The President of Uganda, the first lady of Uganda...no, no, the President's Press Secretary—Daddy's a Bishop. This repeats itself. This Steven Gloyd, the professor at the University of Washington, met with a group of us, and he got so excited about what we were talking about and he said, "I need to tell you that I grew up at St. Stephen's Church in Laurelhurst and I know that's where I got my moral compass. I know that's why I ended up here; I was a n acolyte at the church." Well, the Rector of that same church is going to be at the consultation next week. I don't think he darkens the door of the church very often, but...

AM: That's where it comes from...

BSP: that's where it comes from.

AM: That's part of his whole identity.

BSP: ...yeah, and that's the same part of the story in Africa. And so, what we decided to do was to say, first, let's have a revival meeting. A 24-hour revival meeting. Have people get on an airplane, get in a car, come to Kirkland, WA and we're going to talk and pray and worship and come up with a plan but we'll have an altar calling at the end and we'll say, "Come back. After Easter, we're going for 2 weeks." And you think about it—your congregation for instance. You know, the head of the FBI used to be in that congregation...

AM:...I know he was...

BSP: The current ambassador to the World Trade Organization, from Texas. She's a member.

AM: yes, I know. I know them.

BSP: You think about civil society in our country...

AM: ...yeah, you're right. They're sitting in the pews with us.

BSP: ...and they're still probably getting the church newsletter, sitting in Washington, sitting in Geneva. And so, that's why I don't want to build an organization, I want to build a movement here.

AM: This thing you're doing next week...you Rectors, Deans coming in...

BSP: ...and we asked them to bring lay leaders with them. I don't know if all of them are—but the Rector of St. Steven's Laurelhurst, she is bringing a guy who is an event planner at Safeco and he's in formation to become a deacon. One of Rod's friends—it's a whole movement thing—a woman by the name of Tracy Longacre and she is the Director of Admin and Finance for the Women's Funding Network in San Francisco, pretty powerful outfit—and she's a deacon in formation. And she's been involved, she's been to Africa herself and...we didn't invite anyone from her congregation at all—St John the Evangelist—which was just devastated by AIDS...she's going to come. So, it will be sort of...a different group...there will be about 5 congregations from Seattle, a couple from Portland, but then, interestingly, I think two parishes from Florida...they are classmates and friends of the Rector at St. Thomas [Jeff]...the Dean of St Andrew's Cathedral Honolulu—absolutely wanted to come but she couldn't, she's locked in. But, she's sending the Director of Christian ED to represent the Cathedral, so...it's not just what those individual congregations can do out of their outreach budgets or what letters

they can sign at the table on Sunday. It's about their baptismal ministry. It's about people like Bob Mueller. Just hearing the message, hearing Jason use sermon demonstrations. It reorients what his priorities are. And what he might do in the context of the FBI. I have no idea...

AM: I always find that amazing...I was in Japan 5 years ago for about 6 months and [one Sunday] Tony Blair and his wife Cherie sat behind me in church. And you know, you share the peace with them and you realize—we're hearing, we're being influenced by the same Word here, together—and how does that inform who you are, in your daily life?

BSP: For me, this Greg Shaw...we're meeting at [some hotel and spa] in Kirkland...so what is he doing? Subsidizing it to the gills.

AM: ...just because of a trip to Africa...

BSP: Just because of a trip. And the other thing he did was—he went on our website and realized these guys are underperforming in terms of their messaging. So he wrote an email to my boss—and said, pro bono—his firm would do some work on it pro bono. We're going to meet next Tuesday afternoon.

AM: That' great because he's right about the website, there's not enough there. Rod told me more about what you're doing than the website told me. And I had to go on the website to find out something...

BSP: He's [Rod] probably taking a lot of what I am doing and what I am telling him and I am a master spinner too...But, I worked for a very large NGO—World Vision—heard of it ever?

AM: Oh, yes...

BSP: They have a billion bucks, revenue. US raises $550 million and then Canada, Australia, Finland, Japan, Taiwan, Austria, England, blah, blah, blah...even some countries in the South are raising their own money...

AM: Why did you leave there to do this?

BSP: It's my own church. I had a 7-year itch and I'd been there for 8 years and it's a mass of an organization—I mean, over and over again at a community/village level World Vision is working with the church, they're working with the Anglican Church. Most of the African World Vision Directors—the leadership—were Anglicans. Like everything else in civil society. So...and I got really inspired by our president, who is coming up for this consultation; I really got inspired by her. And you know—if you do come up, she's not leaving until the red eye on Tuesday night—and I told here this morning—we're done at 2 PM, I know your need to meet with Greg but I'm not planning anything...see what happens. It totally goes against my instincts but I used to work with this guy—[who] when we would travel in Africa, I'm one of these kind of people who

needs to have a schedule and push it to the gills and Tom would always insist on leaving a half a day open, every day we were there—because he said, there's serendipity stuff. So—this is sort of going against my instincts, leaving this opening for my boss...

AM: ...something will happen...

BSP: ...something will happen...I have no idea what, but something...but I found out the priest from the church on Mercer Island is already fund raising for the trip next year...

AM: ...maybe he's taking funds over...

BSP: well, that would be great...

AM: So—you came to ER-D because it's your church...

BSP: It's my church...it's [the fund] is 62 years old, almost 63. It was founded after "Krystalnacht" the Presiding Bishop called the church to take an offering to care for the refugees. And it's always been—" let's take up an offering after an emergency" sort of fund and about ten years ago it started doing more traditional NGO work, training, capacity building, technical assistance—but still just did grants—and in terms of donor development, they really didn't have a program for that. They just sent out Mite Boxes to all 6000 congregations every year and would have an ingathering Sunday, very traditional. The Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief was essentially an auxiliary of the Episcopal Church Women. With the demise of ECW—when my boss got on the job she saw the trend—the average age of ECW members is in their 80s—there were no young women. So, she said we would keep that base, provide them with gift planning seminars but we have to do something different and so we have moved to more of a partnership model...

AM: What do you mean by "partnership"?

BSP: Well, working with Anglican entities and helping them develop their own capacity and in some cases, starting their own NGOs. We're helping the Diocese of Cape Town start their own NGO. We'll have trustees not tied to the church. Too often the dog wags the tail [I think he meant—the tail wags the dog] in terms of community development decisions in the church and we're providing some leadership to get out of that...because essentially, Bishops don't get it—our methodology is grass roots, Bishops are top down, hierarchy. We're anti-hierarchy. I've got a really wonderful document from World Vision that's just brilliant [on this]. I would edit it, but I would steal it...

AM: So, World Vision does grass roots development too?

BSP: yeah...

AM: With a billion dollars?

BSP: yeah, with a billion dollars.

AM: How do they sustain that with such a huge fund? Doesn't it become a bureaucracy at some point?

BSP: Heck yeah. That's part of the reason I left. I see how you have to bureaucratize any size of organization but there's a point in you r life when you say, I want to be in a more minimalist bureaucracy. The church bureaucracy is a 2000-year old bureaucracy that can absolutely drive you nuts...Real community development...Sandra Swan, our President came in...she's an interesting case study herself. Nebraska girl, got an English Lit degree. Became a flight attendant with American to see the world, married a Harvard boy, raised a family, ended up becoming the President of the New York City Junior League. Then she picked up an MBA in Finance from NYU and she worked for a community theatre association as a fund raiser and then ended up with an NGO in Connecticut, retired executives service corps—executives who take early retirement [and work in jobs worldwide, mentoring, etc.] and she became the Director of Development for them. And then the Presiding Bishop decided he needed to fill the Executive Director position of ER-D and put out a search and Sandra said what she wanted—offered her the job and she played hard ball with him, she said what she wanted. She said she wanted his absolute commitment to this organization that he would walk with us. "I want it to become a separate 501C-3 from the church." We are one of the last denominational NGOs to have our own separate status. So—up until 6 months ago, we couldn't apply for and get matching gifts from Microsoft at its most basic. We couldn't apply for USAID funding. And she said, "I don't want you or your staff to meddle in my staffing decisions." And so she went out and hired people like me—NGO people. They used to hire "cashiered" priests—or—her best story—the person running the grants program was some one "cashiered out" of the General Convention Office—she was an event planner for that office. And they just moved into making grant decisions. So, that's what she inherited. The new VP for Admin/Finance was 20 years with World Relief, started out in the refugee camps in Bangkok and managed an $80 million a year NGO. Now he's managing a $13 million one and I don't think he knows which is the toughest—because one is affiliated with the church. And he's the one who has spearheaded the whole 501C-3 because it had to get through Executive Council, to the point I thought, "there's due diligence, and there's due diligence." You know, screw 'em, just move ahead. Well, anyway, she's assembled a team like that and we still have a long way to go.

AM: How long have you been here?

BSP: Two years.

AM: And how long has she been here?

BSP: Three and a half maybe. What she did was—she's investing a lot into Board Development. They're getting rid of people who aren't on board with the new way of doing things which I believe [means] we'll be phasing out the grants program and

moving into more of a partnership model, I hope. I think she needs to let the Board know she is going to lose some of the staff if she doesn't. So, it's kind of an exciting time to be there but it's still...

AM: It sounds like it is in constant evolution...

BSP: yeah, you know, when I came...I went to seminary...when I came out of seminary...

AM: ...not to be ordained?

BSP: well, to be ordained. I just wasn't ready to be ordained. We had our first child, and I needed a private life, and priests don't have that, and so I remember going...I worked as a lay person at All Saints in Pasadena, the largest church west of the Mississippi; what I did—we set up an office for anti-apartheid work and supporting South Africa. I had worked in South Africa for five years before seminary, with the Anglican Church...

AM: With the Anglican Church locally?

BSP: Yes, in Port Elizabeth. And so I did that for 5 years and at the end of the 5 years I decided I wanted to go to work for World Vision. George [Regas, the Rector at All Saints] really encouraged me in that direction instead of the priesthood. I went to see one of seminary professors and he just about flipped out, "You don't want to go to work with World Vision. They are always re-organizing and changing." And I said I was willing to take that risk. And when I got into World Vision, and I lived through a couple of re-orgs, I realized: if a development organization is not always changing, it's not a development organization!

AM: That's the basic insight about development, isn't it!

BSP: It's the church! Any NGO that sits still isn't an NGO. It's something else. It's a charity organization...

AM: Are you familiar with the term "liminality"?

BSP: No...

[this didn't go anywhere because we arrived at our destination and he was distracted by some other issues. I still think there's something connecting this idea of development and liminality. The context of development IS liminal. As we walked, Brian talked about an effort going on in LA where the various cultural groups located there are also setting up relationships with their home countries]

BSP:...community development, working in all sectors, microcredit, the whole enchilada. And so, we is bringing all of the Salvadoran leadership within the Episcopal

Church that are in LA as well as the Bishop of El Salvador, along with our Latin America Director...who is also an interesting person...she comes from an NGO background but also a Wall Street background...she's a "PK" [priest's kid] who went to Harvard, went to LSE [London School of Economics], and did her dissertation on microcredit lending programs in Latin America, now she's our Latin America Director. But because she's a "PK" she really understands the church and that's really exciting to me. But Abigail is willing to incorporate volunteer programs, visitor programs so the "Gringos" can get down there, see what's going on.

AM: you are busy...

BSP: ...no I just talk a lot.

[into the Starbuck's where we had the rest of our conversation]

BSP: [I accidentally taped over a portion of this conversation so this is midway through an explanation on the above activity in LA and about "Hot Mamas, [which is a push cart and restaurant business started by the church; they sell every kind of tamale from all of the different Latin American cultures represented in LA. They have received a good amount of good press from LA papers and have started to run a successful business] ...And Joe has hustled $100,000 in grants from us but he was telling me yesterday that he thinks that because of some of the publicity and some of the customer base that is starting to solidify that they won't have to chase grants starting next year, that it will be completely sustainable. And that's really exciting, but he's also involved in this El Salvador initiative...he is married to a Guatemalan...we went to seminary together... he didn't get ordained either, he went to work for Lutheran Social Services, I went to World Vision and now we have kind of come back together. Joe has a Ph.D. from the University of Manchester in Community Development, and he teaches at Fuller Seminary, across the street from All Saints Pasadena and now he's getting involved in community development in Latin America, his wife is Guatemalan, he's really been the organizer of this Consultation we are going to have on Saturday [in LA], to look at a companion relationship [which in most of the church is a prayer activity, not a social action relationship] that has ER-D as a full partner in it. And then, he's also...they have a very strong relationship with the Diocese in Mexico, in fact the recently retired, resigned Bishop of Mexico is becoming the Assistant Bishop of LA, Sergio Carenza, and so they are looking at a community development AIDS hospice, using an old diocesan building/retreat center that's fallen into disrepair. And Joe is the one doing all the work [to connect] ER-D, so he and Abigail Nelson, our Latin America Director, kind of work through these things.

AM: You know, my key question in all of this, I think you've already hit it, how does one engage other people in the discussion of identity in development work and you've already talked about it. I mean, you've just demonstrated it with this...you start in your own community and then they connect that work with their home countries and it's the Anglican Church, it's that Anglican identity, that there's a connection there.

BSP: yeah...well, World Vision....[he has a brochure that encapsulates the approach of World Vision to development work]...I think this is a very good...they were founded by a photo journalist, 50 years ago, so they don't cut any corners in visual images. But look at this...my only problem is the "Spiritual Transformation" line because they are evangelicals, they have to have that. But I think this stuff is really good [the Social Transformation and Physical Transformation lines]...I would take this line [the Spiritual Transformation] off for ER-D and everything else is the direction that we're moving in. Starting here...

AM: Why would you take that line off? Maybe it's...

BSP: I have to think it through a little bit more. I'm OK with the "Deed" and the "Life". I mean, the "Word" and this stuff, "the community sees God's answer to public prayer". Well, George Regas used to say the prayer is in the work. [Continuing the text of the brochure] "This gives credence to the testimony of believers." I mean, it is probably written for an evangelical audience. This happens, they [World Vision worldwide] let it happen. I think they have a much better theology of Holy Spirit than World Vision in the United States.

AM: This goes on worldwide...

BSP: yeah, but they don't program for it. World Vision West tries to make this sound like this is intentional.

AM: well, look, it's linear...

BSP: whereas, this [the other two program lines] is just the basic stuff, of community development.

AM: But can you do this basic stuff without engaging...perhaps not in these words, but at some level, connecting to the spiritual lives of people?

BSP: I don't know...I don't think you can...

AM: see, that is my big question...after I spent last week talking with someone who does USAID funded projects, they are all up here [physical transformation] though they are using the words [of social transformation] but what they are really selling is democracy and all that other stuff...but they use these interesting words like "ownership" and "partnership"...you and I talked about that on the phone...but...and they are doing some of these...education and literacy...

BSP: yeah, I wish [World Vision] had "Reconciliation" or "Peace Building" on this line too, I think they missed that...they do a lot of reconciliation and peace building but for some reason they didn't include it. Because I think they could not get it in that few number of words. But I think you're probably right...some of this stuff [the spiritual transformation] happens.

AM: Well, it does. It happens but the question is if you ignore it, can this [the physical and social transformation] happen? In a sustained way?

BSP: Sandra Swan is so linear. She is worse than I am on this stuff. And I think...our constitutional bylaws are way too secular. In terms of our new organization. I think we gave too much away.

AM: It would be hard for me to read that...with a name like "Episcopal Relief and Development"...

BSP: We're still Anglican, I know. We recognize that, but she has a hard time understanding that. We're so fearful of being labeled...promoting [unintelligible word] Christianity.

AM: Well, I am too, I have to tell you. Are people going out for conversion or development work?

BSP: So...any literacy work then [done in that model] is a goal to read the Bible?

AM: yeah...I think so. As much as Christianity is a part of who I am and it's important to me, I don't know if that's the way to go do development. But, how can you do all of this [the physical and social transformation work] if you are not willing...to engage [spiritual transformation]?

BSP: You know who actually has done a lot of thinking, and maybe even some writing about this is Andrew Natsios.

AM: Has he really?

BSP: We were close colleagues; he was the VP of Programs for World Vision for 5 years, before he went to do the big dig [in Boston]. He's deeply spiritual, in an orthodox way. He refused to sign World Vision's statement of faith, but they still hired him, because he really understands this. I think he's...I think some of the faith based programs that USAID is doing on a small scale, in villages projects... we can't go after that money, it has to happen in country. I think that is a lot under Andrew's leadership.

AM: What makes me uncomfortable with this, what comes with that in our current environment is the very conservative view of the world and somehow...an American take on that...we can't do...I had a long conversation with someone at AID this summer in the Global Health Bureau who...the issues around reproductive health. There are such fine lines around what they can work on and what they can't work on and how things are funded in that organization because of the politics. And so, to me...

BSP: That's so tricky...

AM: It is! All of this is tricky. I think that is what I am coming to understand.

BSP: In NGOs...we have no inclination to back away from it. We see that human need. So...at World Vision...they hide some of the work from their constituency in the United States...they hand out condoms. But the head of World Vision Ghana...he's a physician. His wife is head of Planned Parenthood for Ghana. World Vision US will hide those...

AM: so, they're smart enough to do that...

BSP: They know...it's life and death!

AM: It is life and death. That's what I can't get over...

BSP: I always say to people who come in with a narrow theology to any NGO...just spend some time in the field for a while. The realities of poverty and need change their theology. Their theology ain't going to change sitting here. And that's what's going to happen with these priests [that we take to Africa next spring]. It is going to impact them theologically, it's going to impact on how they view the world. And hopefully, it will trickle down and trickle up. But the whole question of...faith based organization...I had another friend, Joe Coletti, another classmate of ours, who didn't get ordained, she's at HUD in Sacramento...a community developer and she says she has all this pressure to do faith based stuff...who in Sacramento? We're getting these very conservative churches who are seeing this as an opportunity to fund their programs. We need the opposite. We need...[he left to go to his other appointment; I would say if he had finished his thought that it would go back to the issue that one's theology changes when one really engages need and poverty. We picked up again about 45 minutes later...responding to his question as to whether this has been worthwhile I responded below]

AM: This has been great. It's a completely different conversation than I had last week, which I fully expected. I guess I'm still struggling about the identity thing because that's what I'm supposed to be struggling with. I mean, that's the whole point of what I'm doing right now, in the midst of this pilot, saying, is this a topic I can carry forward?

BSP: I was thinking about an example of this...ummm...I took a group of church leaders from Pittsburgh, different denominations to see our development work in Africa, World Vision's. There were some Episcopalians there. And the Bishop of this little village, this region of Southeast Uganda, he decided to be there, be his imperial self. So, we went to see a development project and the Bishop was with us, complete with a purple Land Rover...probably some nice Episcopalians in the United States decided to buy him a purple Land Rover...in case anyone would miss the fact that he is a Bishop...and so, the development officer of this region was an Anglican in Uganda. There are about 500 World Vision staff in Uganda. All but one of them are Ugandan. The non-Ugandan is from Ghana. So...completely indigenous. And so we go to this village and we see...and Mark, this regional community development person, he stood in the back of the group, he was just one of the visitors. And he let the parish development people sort of speak and lead the trip. And the parish development people in turn empowered the people from the

village to speak for themselves. They follow this model [that we have been discussing] and because of the classes being over crowded and not being able to get qualified teachers, the parents decided that they needed to be educated so they could augment the little education that the kids were getting at school at home. So, they started an adult ed program and they just sort of met out under the stars, and did this. And because of the monsoons, the rainy season came in, they decided to put up a community center so that they could have it and they described this. You could the Bishop being agitated, because you see, the two parish, the two county level development workers were these two young women, very beautiful...20-somethings. Recent graduates of Makary University, which is the elite university in community development. And they weren't even from that tribe. They were from a tribe from another part of the country and they had moved into the community and followed that model. They learned the dances, they learned the dialect, they became a part of the community. And they, even though, in a sense, they were from another part of the country and they were city girls...I asked them, when was the last time they had to Kampala...it had been a year, since they had visited, they were just planted there. And the Bishop really felt Mark, the man, the big World Vision guy should be telling these rich Americans what was going on. Mark was empowering these two women and they in turn were empowering the village to tell their own story. And at the end of the trip we ended up at this big Anglican church; they had an appropriate technology, training center there, the director's wife ran, showing people how to use reflector ovens so they didn't have to use all their wood all the time and all these sorts of things...and there was a teen AIDS awareness truck that the youth leader, a retired school teacher/priest—old guy—and they put on some skits and sang for us and they talked about saying "no". They even sang a song about protection, in the church, in front of the Bishop! They had been empowered to do that. And finally, at the end, the Bishop got up, his imperial self, and says, "I always thought I knew what World Vision did. I always thought I knew what development was. No, I didn't. Today, I understand." The identity was clear by what he saw, not what he had been told.

AM: And not what he probably could have coerced to happen, he probably still wanted to hear the man...

BSP: yeah, and I think an important aspect of ER-D's work is educating the Bishops and the priests about what development is and what it isn't. Because I think sometimes church folks see development as a strategy to build the institution of the church. It's the other way around. The institution of the church needs to be available for real...as a part of civil society, for community development to flourish.

AM: Do you think anybody understands that? In the hierarchy?

BSP: In the hierarchy? Yeah. A few...I don't know if they put words to it, necessarily. There are a few Bishops...the Presiding Bishop's wife does, she's on the Board of Heifer International, Phoebe Griswold understands development. I think the former Presiding Bishop, Ed Browning, he understands it really well. John Bruno [new Bishop in LA] understands it. I think Bill Swing [the local Bishop] understands it on a theoretical level does...

AM: yeah...he does seem a bit far away from that...

BSP: yeah, he probably needs to go be face-to-face...go to a village in Turkey or some place like that...that's where he really needs to go. You know another Bishop who really understands it, he's an anthropologist too, is Mark McDonald, the Bishop of Alaska. He's young, early to mid 40s. Never seen him anything but jeans and a rumpled corduroy jacket. He grew up on the reservation in Minnesota...but he learned their language, learned their customs, he actually worked in Navajo land for a while and he speaks Navajo. And he talks about the similarities in the languages between [an Alaskan language] and the Navajo language. And he really gets it. A lot of those villages are completely inaccessible. The sort of canon 9 clergy, the local clergy in those villages are just the shamans. And he talks about that. And it's interesting, his predecessor once removed who retired to Seattle, David Cochran was a missionary Bishop, the Bishop of Alaska for I don't know how long. He was a bush pilot. And he retired here and just joined a parish. And he helped start a Cambodian congregation and he mentored a refugee, a Cambodian, a Chinese Cambodian, and he's the first Cambodian ordained a priest and he works at Sears full time. But David Cochran, in terms of the church...Holy Family of Jesus Episcopal Church in Tacoma which is in the middle of the largest federal housing project made up of single family dwellings, it's old World War II housing, has its own 501C-3...I was on the Board of the 501C-3 because Bishop Cochran recruited me. And it's the closest thing to a 24/7 congregation in this diocese, a little Cambodian church. They beat the hell out of that place: ESL classes; I took someone from World Vision—Cambodia to visit the church and the Lutheran pastor who is the head of the community development organization there just interrupted the ESL class to introduce him to everyone. There was someone from Russia, Guatemala, and Moldavia, the Ukraine, and it was like...in this Cambodian church. It was phenomenal. They're from orthodox, Pentecostal, Buddhist, Islam, but they come to learn English in a Christian church. And something else goes on with them. One of our things that we are looking at ER-D is the whole colonial deal. We left all of these hospitals and schools in all of these unlikely places, the Middle East in particular. We're looking at helping renovate and strengthen the hospital outside Sadat City in Egypt. Are you familiar with the academic, Edward Said? He went to St. George's school in East Jerusalem. There's like 25 institutions of the diocese of Jerusalem. Ali Hospital in Gaza serves that population and so, it's kind of like, after 9/11 we're thinking we should do good development work in the Middle East.

AM: And it's already there...

BSP: And it's already there. We just need to partner. Quetta. We've all heard from Quetta now because it is 20 miles from the Afghan border. There's a 115 year old hospital there. Started by the Church Mission Society. It's been in continual use, they're sort of renown for their prosthesis clinic because of the Russian occupation and all the land mines. And because it is a largely tribal area, they're treating Afghans and Pakistanis and it's both Christian and Muslim Pakistanis in the staff, on the medical staff. I think there's only one ex-pat, a retired surgeon from England. And now after 9/11 they said "we really learned about loving your enemy." They don't know who they're

treating. They don't ask. It's Al Qaeda, it's Taliban, it's their children, it's their cousins. And the former anchor of the Today Show, the news anchor who is in Seattle now, Margaret Larson. She a correspondent with Dateline NBC too. She went there, to that hospital. And now she...comes out...she hasn't darkened the door of a church since she went to that hospital. Now she's back in the States and she's going to an Episcopal church, telling the Episcopalians about THEIR hospital. In Quetta, Pakistan. She's speaking at our Diocesan Convention out of that experience. She is going to get up and tell her story.

AM: How do you get this message out to everybody?

BSP: I don't know...

AM: You just keep talking to people.

BSP: Yeah, yeah. Ten month ago, I went and listened to Margaret, she's on the Board of Directors of Mercy Corps. And Mercy Corps was passing money through to the Christian hospital in Quetta. And so I got invited to a Mercy Corps luncheon and she talks about the Christian hospital in Quetta and I'm kind of going...I think that's an Anglican hospital. And I went up to her afterward, and said that and so I did an internet search, and sure enough it is, it owned, fully owned by the Diocese of Karachi.

AM: You know, I want to come back to something. About your discomfort with this [the spiritual formation line on the World Vision document].

BSP: Well, maybe not discomfort...

AM: Well...it comes across that way, in some of what you've said. And so, I want to...

BSP: Maybe I'm just...I don't know...you see, I believe in fairies...and stuff like that...

AM: That's a bad thing?

BSP: No, it's a great thing. I believe that God really is all powerful. And I believe a God transaction happens in development projects. You can't manufacture those deals. They are going to happen in spite of us. They're going to happen through the last person you expect. And so, working with the church that is a part of the Anglican Communion, is kind of like, I wonder about the agnostic who is on our staff. Or the Jewish woman who is on our staff. We represent a Christian organization that is supported by the Anglican Communion and an organization that implements the Anglican Communion. There's a God transaction that happens regardless of [what that line expresses]. So in that sense, I am in agreement but you know, let me look at this again...

AM: I read this pretty carefully, and I agree with you, the words are a little...they are on the evangelical side.

BSP: [reading from the document] Spiritual transformation "...begins from the quiet witness of ministry done with excellence." I would say that spiritual transformation happens in spite of sinful people. A God transaction is...

AM: ...is going to occur anyway.

BSP: [again from the document] "Credible witness is reflected in the character and quality of relationships amongst our staff." Well, the fact is, they've got a lot of staff who aren't Christians.

AM: ...well, and is it more than staff? I mean, isn't it the staff and the villagers?

BSP: yeah...some of their staff are agnostics anyway. They just know all the lingo. [again from the document] "Our work prompts community members to ask why we help them." I don't think they even have to ask. They know.

AM: Because they are there...

BSP: yeah. And it's interesting. One of the VPs that I worked with, he had a big sign on his door, "preach the gospel always. Use words when necessary." I mean, Andrew Natsios speaks that philosophy.

AM: And how do you think he's doing at USAID?

BSP: He's a political animal. He's a hack on top of everything else. He was chair of the Republican party in Massachusetts. Then he worked for OFDA under the first Bush administration—Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance—and he's a reservist with a civil affairs company...CIA...so he...I predicted...I told the President of Mercy Corps when Bush got elected that Andrew would probably get the Administrator job. He and Andy Card are best friends...

AM: Is that a good thing that he is there?

BSP: I think it is. I think it is because he knows how complicated things are. And Andrew is always growing, he's got an incredibly inquisitive mind. I've even seen him make mistakes, but he is impatient. And he sticks his foot in his mouth a lot. I would hate to be Public Affairs for him...but he knows how to apologize. The other thing, Andrew's an academic. After World Vision he was a fellow at USIP for a while...US Institute for Peace, it's a parasaidal...Mark Hatfield started it. He's really done a lot of work on North Korea. They've done some outstanding things because of Andrew's leadership. Andrew predicted a lot of what happened in North Korea. And then he went out and started an advocacy campaigns of the change...they came up with some PSA-looking ads that they sold to cable TV just inside the District of Columbia, because it was cheaper, because they know that the staffs watch. They were very slick ads. The women who did these...she would be a good contact for you...Sara Anderson, she lives in San Jose now. She was Andrew's public affairs person at World Vision. An Episcopalian.

Lifelong. Now she is doing freelance PR work in the Bay Area. In terms of these questions, she has done a lot of thinking, she feels...she has a similar dis-ease to this stuff that I do.

AM: Well, I agree with you. I am trying to...

BSP: But don't you think this is pretty solid stuff up here? [the top two lines of the World Vision document]

AM: Yeah....but it's just that when I look at it from social and physical transformation perspectives, yeah. You've got to have the social transformation going on before the physical is going to be...

BSP: and a lot of organizations will just plop it..."we do economic development". Those organizations are a dime a dozen. We do houses...but guess what?

AM: But USAID is doing just that...

BSP: They do a lot of this [physical transformation]. But they are supporting organizations that are doing the [social transformation] and they will come in with a sectoral focus and provide resources to do that.

AM: But the question is, if those aren't connected, and this is way too linear...there's something about this presentation...there just has to be another way to present this...

BSP: But I think given the audience, this is what it's about. Did you read the Credo?

AM: Yeah. I did.

BSP: This credo is probably against the grain of evangelical organizations, they would just look at this like...what the hell do those people [in the villages] know? We've got the truth...and we're developing a way for them to have the truth.

AM: Well, how do they keep this away from their conservative supporters?

BSP: They don't. And so they lose supporters. They realize that they will lose people because of this. Their former president...he grew up evangelical himself, he's been on a lifelong journey, you know, he realizes...he said he didn't want to be accused of chasing donors, I want to lead a donor. So, when he was in Palestine, he lost a lot of donors. He used to carry a rubber bullet around, and show it to donors. "So, you have unwavering support of Israel? Let me tell you a story about this bullet. It hit a kid that I sponsored, he is in one of our projects in Palestine." The new guy, because he didn't grow up, his own personal history, I think he is trying to re-cultivate the more conservative agenda.

AM: Can someone do development work without having had that kind of experience you talked to me about before, that your theology changes when you are on the ground there?

BSP: Yeah, I don't think so, at the end of the day. I always say that about World Vision. I say that about Rich Stearns, the current president, there is going to be so much pressure on Rich to travel, to get marketing footage. He will see a lot of our work first hand. And in time, he will change. He is not going to change the corporate culture, of the field. He can jigger with, impact the corporate culture, make it more corporate here in Seattle, sure, but he can't change...it is a virulent animal in the field. It will change him first. People keep telling me he is changing. The other thing...I've always felt the staff who never get out to the field, the markers who never get to the field, they don't get it. And they get burned out, they get competitive, they forget that we're part of a mission driven organization. And they affect the major donor funders who really get seduced and they pander to them too much. When I took this job, I was traveling four or five times a year overseas with World Vision and I said...that was one of the reasons I changed jobs, but I told them, I need an annual trip. I need at least one, no more than two a year. Otherwise, I will burn out. And I will lose my passion for what we are doing.

AM: And so, do you do that?

BSP: yes.

AM: Are you going on the trip next spring?

BSP: yeah, I'll probably go but I am going to El Salvador for five days in a couple of weeks.

AM: Do you find that just going anywhere is as...represents everywhere for you?

BSP: Yeah. I used to...I find that donors and church leaders who are "tend-to experts" on developments...they tend to over personalize...it's all about the kids that they met, the community and they lose all perspective. And it's kind of like...when development organizations are done with their work, the donors don't understand, they want to keep giving money. Well, if you give money, it's just going to be charity. You can have a relationship with them, but it will be apart from us. And they have a hard time with that. I see that with my Bishop here. He's over personalized Palestine.

AM: I think I am not following you. Talk to me some more about this. I mean, are you saying that you want to encourage the relationship, they go, they meet someone, they build a relationship with that individual and then that becomes everything?

BSP: yeah...

AM: That becomes their worldview...it's all like that?

BSP: yeah. If we have to transition to support another country, they don't want to move. They don't want to do something in another country. Because it's all about Honduras. Because that's where they've been.

AM: Like for me, I've been to Southeast Asia, Cambodia, Viet Nam and Thailand...

BSP: yeah, like where I was...how about South Africa?

AM: But how do you broaden that view then? Is it just going to a lot of different places? Is it...

BSP: It's maintaining the relationships...but it's realizing that they don't need our development assistance past "x" number of years.

AM: Like South Africa...

BSP: To some degree, South Africa...but there are places that can do without us. A good example is Belize. There's an island to go down to, a cheap Club Med, and they've got wooden structures. And after the storm season which is right around now, the tourist industry is knocked out. So, what we're doing is we're building, helping them to rebuild concrete houses, community centers and so that their economy won't get knocked out of the box. We're sending volunteers down...helping them put in sewer systems, putting in water...well, that work will get done. And people will then keep coming back and pumping money into the economy.

AM: And then they will be able to sustain that themselves...

BSP: they can sustain that. They can sustain the relationship.

AM: So, you want to get out of work in some places...

BSP: yeah...and that's what different about a church NGO. The church never leaves. But there's a sort of dialectic going on between ER-D and the local church. We will leave, they will stay. We want to empower them to have the capacity to respond to human need long after we're gone. But they are not going to have to look for money for a specific thing they need to do to...on the short term they might have the capacity to get AID funding directly. One of the things we're exploring is doing fund raising workshops, grant writing workshops, so they bid directly without any of our help. And then to the point of economic development is happening...that they don't even need USAID...they can do it themselves. Yeah.

AM: the only other question that kind of sits with me, is kind of an historical issue but the fact is the Anglican Church is there. From colonial times. Just because we've been there...might that picture have looked like what we're seeing with organizations that are doing evangelical work, we just aren't witnessing it because it was 200 years ago. For me, how do we...how do we help people be who they are? As opposed to...understand what is permanent about who they are, what their character is, and what their culture is, and offer support/help around issue that are changeable. But there's a dialectic between the permanence of who they are and what is possible to them, in a more modern world, if that's what the issue is. I'm asking an impossible question?

BSP: How many angels can dance on a pin head? That is such a key question. Come back...I'd like to have a conversation about that question. Right now, I'm stumped by it.

AM: I am too. I think about my own development. My own identity. The reason I'm fascinated with this topic is what I've done over the last four or five years. And my history...I was in corporate America...I spent ten years running the training and organizational development for the Gap. And I...

BSP: [He shows me his Gap jeans...] This neighborhood, it's OK to wear Gap. I'll tell you my WTO stories sometime...

AM: And they are actually trying to be a good citizen; when you're internal to an organization like that who is really trying to do the right thing...and they still get hammered.

BSP: I have a friend who used to work for the UN and the ILO. She was one of the top investigators on child labor for the ILO. Nike hired her for their CSR department. And now she kind of feels like, they left the fox in the hen house. What are they doing? And she's another Episcopalian. And I tell her...it's your baptismal ministry. And she says, "what are talking about?" Heck, yeah. Because I go to places like Cambodia, where do they want to work? For Nike...

AM: Wouldn't you rather do that than be in a brothel?

BSP: Heck yes. And now Nike is doing phenomenal stuff...

AM: to me, when you go into these countries, it's no longer a black and white issue. The choices are bad and worse.

BSP: I got accosted by some trade representative from Uganda. I was inside the hall and outside the hall [the WTO meetings in Seattle], representing World Vision. And we wrote a pretty comprehensive paper on trade, how important fair trade was. And there were a lot of other NGOs inside, even Greenpeace had people on the inside...so, this trade representative said...right after that really cynical labor march that Gore or Clinton were really behind...and he said...OSHA is not that old. You guys...you were a developing country once. We just want you to afford us similar advantages that you had when you were developing.

AM: and that's my point about the Anglican church too...because we don't remember what it was like to be a developing country, because we don't remember what the Anglican Church was doing 200 years ago when they were colonizing in those countries.

BSP: yeah...

AM: and so we just happen to be the beneficiaries of that, or you know, ER-D is a beneficiary to have the partners in country who are already doing that. So, this is all...

BSP: we are a global church. We are a global institution. I actually... when I was at World Vision we got into this partnership with Princeton Theological Seminary and the Pew Charitable Trust, there was a project on the church and globalization. I was one of the coordinators of it. And it was a two year process. We actually ended up publishing a book about the church and globalization. And looking at it...we looked some of the sectoral thing...interfaith...but we failed...I can't figure out how to popularize it...can't figure out how to break through into the connotations...and you know what it is? The only sure fire way is going to be the road trip. Every person can't go but each church there's a number of people, there's a critical mass; if 6 people from St. Mary's went, it could impact the whole church....All I do is tell stories...but there is some interest at St. Mary's, like Frannie, to give money for development.

AM: [this road trip idea...] This is what this professor of mine is doing...she takes a group of 12-15 people every year, we take stuff with us, medical supplies, clothes, educational supplies, whatever, and you stop on the road and you hand them out.

BSP: Charity.

AM: Well, it is...but...

BSP: But it's a vehicle for a conversation.

AM: right. And for me, I was uncomfortable with it. So, I'm standing there thinking, how in the world can this make a difference? And on my trip, I took my 19 year old niece, because I thought, I want her to have a different perspective. Because of her family's connection with the Jesuit order, it has always been a part of who they are. Anyway, we went, and we're handing out supplies to people and I thought this isn't doing anything and then a friend on the trip who is an amazing teacher, she works with at risk kids...said to me, "did you ever have a moment that transformed your life?" And I said, sure. And she said, "well, this might be theirs. This might be their opportunity to imagine something different."

BSP: I took my daughter when she was 12 to Honduras with me, before Mitch. And we went to the garbage dump...she saw the vultures, she saw kids her age scavenging. Then we went up into the hills, right outside of town, these villages on sheer cliffs because people can't afford to build on the flatlands, because that is where they grow bananas, so we can have cheap food. And my daughter said, "does it rain hard here ever?" She could see that these houses wouldn't withstand that. And so, when she saw images on CNN, she was in 6th grade, she organized a clothing drive.

AM: So, is charity a bad word?

BSP: No. In some situations, I see it in this country, with hard core homeless, in terms of street mental illness, we have an obligation to care for them. And I make donations, and I serve food with my kids, Thanksgiving and/or Christmas, every year. And that's

just straight out charity. It raises incredible questions for my kids. Best I can do for these people is to tell them to go to get help at those places.

AM: Does charity get transformed into development, ever? Are they connected?

BSP: I think it does.

AM: Can you change a person's mindset from doing charity...what you're talking about is these people going on this trip...

BSP: I think there's some example of this happening in the whole welfare reform in the US. I think there are a lot of organization that are trying hard to do it right...we've got these welfare moms who now have regular jobs. And they are getting paychecks and they think it is pretty cool. And they don't want to go back.

AM: So charity has moved into development and development has moved into people creating meaning in their lives, of some sort...which is connected to their...

BSP: it all gets back to dignity. You know, the dignity of asking those villagers to tell their own story instead of having the big boss or the develop workers tell it for them.

AM: and that's the baptismal covenant.

BSP: And for those people...seeing those young, attractive college grads just beam. Just the pride in those villagers was pretty magnetic. And those villagers saw that. They were seeking some approval too. Empowerment is such an overused cliché but it's just basic parenting too.

AM: Wow...I could just keep going...

BSP: And you know you are absolutely welcome next week. It's just a 24-hour deal...noon Monday to after 2 on Tuesday. Greg Shaw is going to tell his story, Jeff Lee is going to tell his story and then we'll listen to other people's stories. And we're going to hear from the Gates Foundation and then we're going to say, now how do things look? How do we do something collectively? And then we'll have a pretty simple worship service, maybe a Taizé service...

Appendix 11
Public Interaction on Community Eco-tourism
HOTEL SEAQUEEN ON 13TH JULY 2004
Organised by:
M.S. SWAMINATHAN RESEARCH FOUNDATION
COMMUNIITY **AGROBIODIVERSITY** CENTRE

And Ayurniketh Research Foundation, Calicut

Dear Sir.

Community tourism (sometimes called community-based tourism), which aims to include and benefit local communities, particularly indigenous people and villagers is now picking up in many parts of the developing world. In this kind of tourists management 'community' works with a commercial tour operators, but get local people a fair share of the benefits/profits and a say in deciding how incoming tourism is managed.

In Kerala this kind of tourism management is yet to begin at least in the Malabar region of the State. This subject .should be discussed in appropriate peoples' forum and bring out necessary recommendations that help in policy making towards this direction and subsequently field level experimentations. The Community Agrobiodivety Centre of M S Swaminathan Research Foundation in association with Ayumiketh Research Foundation - an institution stands for community health programmes in Calicut organizes a one-day discussion on this issue focusing Calicut and Wayanad region. A selected group of people with interest and involvement in the sustainable utilization of our natural resources and community development will be the participants.

The first meeting of this series is scheduled to takes place at Hotel Sea Queen on July 13, Tuesday 2004 from 9.30 to till 3.30-4.00 in the evening. This will be following by a public interaction to brief them the outcomes of the meeting. We plan to build up a multi stake-holder group that can take up these kind of issues and provide useful suggestions to the policy makers and enforcement authorities. This kind of bottom-up suggestions will have certainly a say in shaping our social development policies.

Experts and professionals from Tourism, Community Development, Scientists, Researchers, Academicians, Management Experts, Architects, Community leaders, Tour Operators etc. are expected to participate in the discussion. Hon. Dt. Collector Mr. T.O. Sooraj has kindly agreed to deliver the inaugural address. And Mrs. Ayliffe Mumford (USA - University of San Francisco will the chief guest of the get together.

With sincere regards,

Dr. **N. Anil Kumar**
Programme Director
M S Swaminathan Research Foundation

I.V. Sasarkan
Secretary
Ayurniketh Research Foundation

For favour of publication

Appendix 12
M S SWAMINATHAN RESEARCH FOUNDATION
COMMUNITY AGROBIDOVERSITY CENTRE & AYUR NIKETH

Prospects of Community Tourism in "Malabar Coast" of Kerala
Proceedings of the Brain Storming Session held at Calicut, 13 July 2004

II Draft (31-07-2004)

Problem Statement and Rationale

The World Tourism Organisation recognized the kind of tourism that involves traveling to relatively undisturbed areas with specific objective of studying, admiring and enjoying the ecosystem and the existing biological and cultural diversity as "Ecotourism" (Mohanthy 1999). Though this kind of tourism concept envisages the involvement of local communities, it is silent when it comes on the kind of their involvement and sharing of benefits/profits with them. Tourism of more scientific design in ecologically rich areas with the involvement of local communities who nourish such diversity should get more focus when human development options are considered.

The concept of community-based tourism or *Community Tourism* gain significance in this context and it is to include and benefit local communities, particularly indigenous people and villagers in the development of eco-tourism. In this kind of tourists' management, 'community' works with commercial tour operators, but get local people a fair share of the benefits/profits and a say in deciding how incoming tourism is managed. The local community, if empowered, they will be able to even directly manage the tourists by hosting them and guiding them appropriately (GBA 1992). As the day-to-day life of local communities revolves around the resources available in their surroundings, such resources whether biological, abiological and natural in nature should be taken into consideration while the developmental options are worked out for them.

Biological resources and biodiversity are now viewed as the capital biomaterials for the economic prosperity of humankind and have the potential to directly address the poverty of rural and tribal households. A large percentage of such families still derive a significant proportion of food and income from biodiversity (See Box I). If the goal of sustainable utilization of bio-resource and biodiversity properly linked with market, it can play an important role as it can harness and protect biodiversity through commodity markets for wild products, certified biodiversity-friendly products, and agro-ecotourism (tourism in agricultural landscapes). Some Italian protected areas have eco tourism activities linked explicitly to organic agriculture, with local farmers serving as guides and locally grown organic products sold to tourists. The global trade in certified organic agriculture was worth over US$21 billion worldwide in 2000 (Mc. Neely & Sara 2003). In US, the organic and natural foods industry has grown 20% each year during the past decade and now earns$10 billion in yearly sales, with the potential double to $20 billion in next four years (Clay 2002).

Box I
Tourism Potential of Biodiversity

Eradication of extreme poverty and hunger is the greatest challenge of the third world countries today and this is the foremost agenda of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) established by the United Nations in 2002. It targets to halve the proportion of people whose income is less than $1 a day by 2015. Achieving this target is obviously not a cool task for the national governments unless an integrated developmental plan is set to link the economic development with the sustainable and equitable use of the biotic and abiotic resources. It also should be done with active involvement and consent of the communities who mange such resources over generations. In India, a large mass of communities still manage their life with less than $1 per day, despite they are the stewards of one of the mega biodiversity regions of the world. This is an irony. As a result, alleviating poverty and providing employment opportunities to them becomes a critical concern for the government.

In general, hills and coastal regions are rich in biodiversity. Some 40% of the world's market economy is based upon biological products and processes (Gadbow & Richards 1990). It contributes to 90% of human survival needs in the rural parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America (Joyce 1992). The communities who live close to forests and agricultural landscapes take several steps to protect and develop the diversity and resources they use from these directly or indirectly. Their wisdom and skills contribute still to maintain many of the ecosystems and agricultural landscapes in the world to its pristine nature.

The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) advocates the contracting parties to integrate as far as possible and as appropriate, the conservation and sustainable use of such biological diversity into relevant sectoral or cross-sectoral plans, programmes and policies. India –one of the earliest signatories of CBD has drafted policies and guidelines for promoting ecologically sustainable ecotourism in the country. Educational Ecotourism thus emerge as one of several economic development strategies available to communities. Biodiversity can enhance the aesthetic, cultural, and environmental value of a landscape. Tourism based on such resources in this context gains significance as it can, in theory, be used to appreciate to value these resources and the role of communities who conserve, besides generate income out of them.

India gives habitat to around 1,27,000 species of microorganisms, plants and animals (Mo EN Report1998). A total area of 112,274.45 sq. km of the country is protected through a system of Protected Areas included 85 National Parks, and 448 wildlife sanctuaries (Anon 1998). The montane ecosystems of the country –the Western and Eastern Himalayas and the Western Ghats have been recognized as the "biodiversity hotspots" considering its rich but threatened flora, fauna and microorganisms. The biosphere reserves, Mangroves, coral reefs, mountains and forests, and backwaters are the major places of biodiversity occurrence in the country. These resources can not only contribute to the livelihood options of the dependent communities but also function as a natural attraction to the tourists and fascination to those who specialized in nature study.

Prospects of Community Eco-tourism in Kerala

In quest of spices and medicinal herbs from India, the Europeans came first to Kerala that known to them as the **Malabar Coast**. Vasco da Gama landed about 20 km north of Calicut on May 20, 1498. Since then this coast–the legendary land of spices was a fascination for them and it led not only active trade relation but splendid description of the bio-resource wealth of the Coast as well. It is evident since sixteenth century onwards by the first book on Indian Botany "*Coloquios dos simples*" by Garcia de Orta (1563) and the monumental work of *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* of van Rheede (1678-1703). This 12- volume mammoth work of great value in the history of botany gives information about 742 plants belonging to 691 taxonomic species (Manilal 2003). This was followed by several outstanding floristic works, notably by Robert Wight ( ), Richard Beddome ( ), Cooke (1901-1908) and Gamble and Fischer (1915-1936). A serious tourist, if guided by a technically qualified local guide will certainly appreciate such floristic wealth and love to see many of these species described in it in live in their original habitats. For instance, plants described in *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* in the localities from where van Rheede originally reported can attract specific tourists.

The Malabar region gains more significance in terms of its historic importance in trade, culture and botany. However, the tourism potential of this region in terms of understanding its major biodiversity distribution, culture and tradition of the indigenous communities, and natural history of environment is yet to take its way in the tourism industry of Kerala. All over the world there is a trend in getting educated on the nature and its resources. Also people love to see and entrenched in the showering climate, for instance the monsoon in Kerala.

The Malabar Coast of Kerala along with the hilly tracts of Wayanad provides an unusual advantage for community based tourism. The populations of ethnic communities contribute to 17% in Wayanad, which is the highest in the state of Kerala. Wayanad- a "Green Paradise" is one of the loveliest hill Stations (lies at a height of 700 to 2100m above sea level) in Western Ghats and located at a distance of just 2 hrs drive from the seashores of Calicut. The main types of vegetation of this region are wet evergreen forests, moist deciduous forests, sholas and grasslands. The total estimated number of higher plants is around 4000 species. Some of the exclusively endemic species of flowering plants of the region are *Tephrosia wayanadensis, Hedyotis wayanadensis, Cynomytra bourdillonii* and *Bulbophyllum rheedei.* The ethnic diversity is also equally impressive in the region, as evidenced by the presence of 5 dominant tribal groups, *Kurichiya, Kuruma, Paniya,* Adiya and *Kattunaikka* and other 7 minor communities namely, *Koombaranmar, Kadar, Pulayar, Mannan, Kuravar, Malayan and Thachanadan Moopan* (Anon; 1997). The landscape diversity varies from forests, bushes, thickets, rocky grasslands, fallow fields, springs, streams, canals and wetlands- a fine example of a heterogeneous ecosystem, which offer a big avenue for the needed tourists.

The Forest Department of Kerala through a Vana Samrakshana Samithis (a strategic initiative of Forest Department towards participatory forest management) ensures the involvement of ethnic communities in the sustainable management of degraded forests. Several options for income generation exist for them, but often it restricted only in the collection and sale of NWFPs from the forests. The value of ecosystem they live is not much used for their economic development. If profits from tourism in their areas go to them directly, they would be able to appreciate such a venture. A successful conservation approach should make sure that they share the benefits fairly and do not share a disproportionate share of the costs.

Strength of Kerala in terms of Community led Eco-tourism

In India, Kerala has high potential to produce diverse organic products, including textiles, furniture, cosmetics, vegetables, wines (e.g. palm toddy), vegetables, fruits, pet food, baby food and even organic water at community level but with proper skill training and quality education. Swaminathan Commission 2003 on WTO Concerns for Kerala recognized the commercial importance of ecotourism for the economic growth of the state. The report says, " It is only State in the country capable of launching a dynamic programme of home and global tourism which caters the need of health, spirituality and eco-tourism". It also suggests promoting a "holidays on the Farm" programme in plantations and lowlands. They have recommended setting up of specialist groups to draw up detailed business plans for the sustainable tourism industry. The strengths of the state in this respect are:

- The geographic peculiarities and its scenic beauty.
- Cultural diversity with unique indigenous characteristics and knowledge multiplicity.
- Educated human resource potential
- The floral and faunal resource wealth.
- Traditional arts, festivals and traditions.
- Ayurveda and native health care systems.
- Ethnic foods
- Spiritual/pilgrim potential.
- De-centralized democratic setup and community institutions.
- Ideal climate and environment.

Present Scenario of Tourism in Kerala

1. In general the local communities are not effectively involved in Tourism, rather they have been neglected in terms of sharing benefits of tourism with them (In most cases, the tour operators, hotel owners and other people gain from tourism, while local communities who contribute indirectly by protecting the natural environment, scenic beauty, cultural traditions etc are ignored)

2. The ill effects of tourism are spreading across the villages resulting local communities become the first victim of its evils, for example, throwing of liquor

bottles, dumping of plastic wastes in and around ecologically sensitive areas were some serious issues.

3. The awareness level on the positive aspects of tourism in economic development of a potential region is very poor. The local development planners have not yet recognized the scope of tourism as a potential source of income.

4. The inside throb of tourism has not been explored properly in the State. For instance, the actual needs and requirements of tourists vis-à-vis the geographical and cultural strengths of the State has not been properly projected. The cultural diversity, heritage, Ayurveda, landscape diversity, history etc are either wrongly or poorly presented before both the native and foreign tourists. For instance, Elephant processions without looking into its rationale or the ideal season and traditional dance forms performed without integrating the spirit of its performance drawn disrespect from many quarters.

5. Kerala yet to get its deserved position in the tourism map of the world with regard to its vast potentials in this field. Lack of an integrated approach in tourism development is highly visible and should be tackled on a long-term basis by considering the sustainability factors at different levels- social, cultural, economical and ecological.

6. Opportunities are no been given to visiting tourists in terms of exploring the culture, tradition, art, craft etc. of the native communities. This could be done with their consent and involvement based on a proper planning.

7. There are two types of tourist visit our country like (1) Seeing tourists and (2) Experiencing tourists. So they have been treated accordingly after exploring their interests. Health tourism, Spiritual tourism, Ayurvedic and health rejuvenation tourism are the part of Experiencing tourism where the Sate has huge untapped potential for growth.

8. Behavioural approach of people of the State in general towards foreign tourists is hostile. The public feeling quite often is that they are here to exploit the local communities and their resources. Also the feeling of people that the tourists come with more money to spend leads them to exploit the tourists wherever possible.

9. The Job of a Tourist guide in the State has not gained any privilege in the society whereas in many western countries they were treated as informal "Ambassadors" of their country. This attitude of the society will change only when that job gives a decent income and recognition. It should become more apparent in the State of keeping the culture of respecting the visitors vital without loosing our self-respect.

Suggestions & Recommendations

Experience in ecotourism industry shows any fees charged on tourists goes to the government, not the community. Also heavy tourist traffic in forests and such fragile ecosystems lead the degradation of resources directly. The local culture is also threatened by the consumerism and hedonism that modern tourism that entails. If ecotourism is to contribute seriously to conservation and development it should provide significant benefits to the local residents. The local communities should be treated as equal partners with government and industry in all phases of ecotoruism planning and development. They should be able to decide what kind of tourism development is needed in their areas. It should offer them skill development training and scholarships to tourism and Landscapes management.

General

1. The recommendation of Swaminathan Commission 2003 on ecotourism should be taken up for action. If steps towards this have not taken yet, it can start by convening a regional consultation on 'ecotourism, society and culture". This could be held on the occasion of Keralappiravi day on November 1, 2004. Followed by district level tourism promotion meetings at the initiative of the Tourism Promotion Councils in the form of an interface with local communities, tourism professionals, forest officials, NGOs, ecologists and political leaders. It may start from the Malabar region considering its historic significance in trade and tourism.

2. The concerns on the traditional communities' Rights to use the ecological "attractions" should be heard and must be recognized by the government. It should be ensured that the local culture and fabric of their social life is not undermined by the modern tourism entails. An exclusive meeting with the leaders of the major ethnic and rural communities may be organized in every suitable eco-regions of the State.

3. Govt. of Kerala should review their policies in eco-tourism vis-à-vis to their partnership approach with the farmers' organizations, forest department and the ethnic communities and formulate an action plan for community- based eco-tourism, within the frame work of conservation and sustainable use of the biological diversity of the state. A Code of Conduct for community ecotourism should be drawn by taking into consideration of the culture and social fabric of the State and ensure it is obeyed by all the key stakeholders involved.

4. The tourism industry failed to recognize fully the seriousness of the loss of biodiversity and ethnic knowledge in the ecological zones whether it is in the coastal or hilly tracts. They should recognize this and find specific funds for the sustainable development of important eco-regions of the State. They will have to spend a part of their profit to build up the capacity of local people so as to they benefited from tourism as well as to maintain the cultural and ecological diversity of the locality of tourist potential

5. Decentralised planning in tourism should be promoted by following the Code of Conduct developed for community- based ecotourism. The Panchayath Raj Institutions should be encouraged to promote local level tourism in partnership with the industry, government and local communities.

6. Innovative policies should be adopted by both state and national government that strengthen the formal and informal community institutions and to provide incentives at community level for their contributions in the conservation of various eco-regions and agricultural landscapes in minimum disturbed state.

7. The role of Department of Forests, Agriculture and Tribal welfare and educational institutions should be recognized in promoting this kind of tourism. Adequate environmental education should be provided to them along with the local residents. It is worth to consider the involvement of grass root level NGOs and community organizations in such education programmes.

8. A list of recommended tourist places (ecological/agricultural) and species of educational, use and recreational value could be made available to all the key actors involved in this venture. Efforts should be made to see that the IP related issues of TK and biomaterials are protected in such cases. However, the impression of us that every foreign visitor comes here to exploit our resources should change. This needs proper education and awareness at different levels on the need of sustainable use of resources as well as issues like Prior Informed Consent, Access to materials and traditional knowledge and the related concerns.

9. The concept of "Green Market" should be promoted in the region by linking with the already declared Agri-export Zone initiative of the State to improve the livelihood opportunities of the local communities. The production should diversify to reduce dependence on few products.

Specific

1. Efforts should be taken to revive the *Hortus Malabaricus* (*HM*)) in live form. Prof. Manilal (1969-1988) noted that several plants described in HM have no longer grow in their original localities or disappeared altogether from the entire Malabar region. This could be revived into a live garden that can be of use not only in promoting conservation but also as an effective component for Eco/Herbal tourism. As an attached activity to the Herbal Garden, women SHGs can engage in the production of herbal products and function as garden guides. Also, live collections in the garden would serve as voucher samples for the plant species described in the *HM* that may be of legal use when any patent claims arises in future.

2. The region covers Calicut, Malappuram, Kannur and Wayanad can be declared as a **Community Eco-tourism Zone** considering its unique ethnic and landscape diversity.

3. Develop the role of "community medicine" and promote their appropriate and wider use with the help of tourism industry. Several products of high use value are available at local level but find no outside market because of poor efforts in market development.

4. Initiate community eco tourism and agrotourism projects in the state by selecting one village each from the coast and hilly terrains of the Malabar. Calicut and Wayanad district can easily identify suitable villages for this purpose. Place like Sugandagiri is worth to consider for it. But, interventions should be made in a systematic manner to enhance the aesthetic, cultural and environmental value of these places and link with organic agriculture and herbal health development.

5. Establish a bio-regional Information cum Training Centre in Calicut to educate the historic importance of the Malabar coast both locally and globally, which may increase tourism, heighten public awareness and support biodiversity conservation. The Training Centre can offer course in Eco tourism Para taxonomy and Horticulture.

6. Establish a public aquarium involving local people for fresh water fish and turtles that can raise awareness about aquatic biodiversity, that are highly threatened in the Malabar region. Captive breeding programmes could be arranged there for the threatened aquatic organisms.

7. A healthy, socially feasible and ecologically sustainable tourism package with the active participation of local community should be evolved for the State. But it requires a wide range of steps and it is to be done in a systematic and dedicated manner. Some "Dos" and "Donts" in this regard are"

   - Do not simulate cultural performances without considering the spirituality/sanctity and value of such art for the sake of tourism.

   - Do not go for complex kind of infra structural development in the ecologically and culturally sensitive areas in the name of tourism development.

   - The tourism approach should no way deviate from the cultural and traditional strength of the State. We should know how to preserve what we own and also how best it to use for our economic growth without undermining the sustainability aspects.

- Do work for the revival of traditional industries and traditional livelihood options as a complimentary facet of the tourism by the State department of Tourism.

- Discussions, meetings, debates etc. should be convened in order to generate awareness about all aspects of tourism among local community and gain their confidence in sustainable tourism approach. The local communities are to consulted and seek formal consent of them before any kind of tourism package is recommended. Similarly the package should not keep them away from their traditional sources of livelihood. Tourism interventions should be in line with generating employment opportunity for the youngsters of the concerned locality.

- Awareness on hygiene to all those directly involved is very essential in order to keep our environment attractive and improve the tourism growth. It should be taken care that the culture of the foreigners are not mimicked by our youth. The tourists should be educated to respect the rural wisdom and culture pervading in a village and do not do anything impede its fabric.

- Instill the value of traditions among the local people in general and traditional artisans artists and such kind of specialized groups in particular. Tourists must be respected and treat them as guests of our nation. The internal tourism should be developed/encouraged and related it with spiritual tourism

- The local self-governments could be allowed to impose fees/ penalty on misuse of local environment in the name of tourism. They can explore the potential of Farm tourism in their respective areas and bring into an economic development action

Appendix 13
Reflection and Proposal to Professor M.S. Swaminathan
Regarding Tourism as a Sustainable Plan for Development

It has been a great pleasure to have spent the past four days with people associated with the M.S. Swaminathan Foundation in Wayanad district in Kerala. I am most appreciative for their time, energy and commitment shown and their interest in the work I brought.

The intention of this brief reflection is to share some immediate thoughts of synergy between my research and the Centre's activities and to propose a path by which the two can continue to converge and mutually support one another.

The intent of my doctoral research for the University of San Francisco is to address the question, what is the relationship between identity and tourism, one medium for socioeconomic development in Kerala in order to appropriate a different orientation toward development. I am exploring this through conversations at various levels (international agencies, state, industry, local communities) and enquiring how conditions might be created for sustainable gains by the State, local communities and for people most in need. Dr. Anil Kumar, when asked to participate in my research, saw an opportunity to look at eco-tourism to complement the work of the Community Agro-Biodiversity Centre. He organized a one-day session with stakeholders from the Malabar region of Kerala that took into consideration the intention of my research and added the following objectives: 1) to develop a new orientation toward tourism that accounts for the cultural and individual benefits; 2) to gain a better understanding of present day trends in developing community-oriented eco-tourism in Kerala. In other words, from two different perspectives, academic and community-oriented, interests in exploring how to create conditions for a sustainable form of development converged.

The consensus coming out of the one-day session was that it was a very good beginning to a process which gathered interested and concerned people in a thoughtful, open forum. I also believe the discussions will be of significant importance in my work. It was agreed that this session should be followed by subsequent sessions in which necessary recommendations will be made to help in making policy toward creating favorable conditions for the local communities.

To this end, I would like to make a direct, ongoing contribution, not only with my continued work on my dissertation, but a monetary contribution which can help facilitate the Centre's ability to conduct future activities in this area. Thus, I would like to pledge $00 (US) to be paid in three annual installments that would be designated as a Project Fund for the Exploration of Eco-Tourism as a sustainable plan for development, particularly in the Malabar region of Kerala. My hope is that both my intellectual and monetary contributions will aid in providing a space for thinking about and imagining new possibilities that build and sustain the "treasures that are at the feet" of the people in this region, namely, the natural and cultural beauty, the tremendous sense of hospitality and the willing and effective public involvement evidenced by the lively discussions we had during the session. These are essential ingredients for meeting the need for sustainability in development and will be instrumental in ensuring success.

I look forward to an ongoing conversation with MSSRF to refine these ideas to benefit the people most in need.

Respectfully submitted by Ayliffe B. Mumford on July 16 2004
Doctoral Candidate/Researcher—University of San Francisco

Appendix 14
M S SWAMINATHAN RESEARCH FOUNDATION
COMMUNITY AGROBIODIVERSITY CENTRE

ESTABLISHING A BIO-VALLEY FOR THE LIVELIHOOD IMPROVEMENT OF ETHNIC COMMUNITIES OF SUGANDHAGIRI IN WAYANAD DISTRICT

A Concept Note

I. Background

I (a) Wayanad: A Spice Dome

A notable feature of Wayanad district is the Coffee based farming system where other cash crops like pepper, ginger, cardamom, and vanilla are integrated. Coffee in the district occupies about 1,10,000 ha of the total cropped area (nearly 58%) and about 80% of the total coffee grown area in Kerala. Pepper is cultivated in an area of 40,200 ha with production of 18,200 MT. This district has the highest availability of medicinal plant species (ca.650 spp) in the State and contributes significantly to its collection of Non Timber Forest Produces (NTFPs). *Wayanadan Ginger* and *Wayanadan Nendran* (Banana variety) earned high appreciation and admiration in the market in India and in Gulf Countries. Wayanad produces the largest quantities of these two crops in the State. Species diversity and varietal diversity of these two are very high in this territory as evidenced by the presence of its many *Farmers Varieties* like *Wayanad local*, *Mananthody* and *Maran* in case of Ginger. Four species of wild ginger are seen in the district, apart from many varieties of the cultivated species, *Zingiber officianale*. This district has the potentials of developing into a leading agro producer and prospective supplier of Spices, Herbals and Beverages in the export and home market. More than 80% of the agricultural commodities/products of the district is dependent on home and international markets.

I (b) Sugandhagiri: A Spice Hill

A project was evolved by government of Kerala years back in Wayanad district in the Sugandhagiri (Sugandha= spice; giri= hill) for the advancement of tribal communities. This was rooted on a collaborative approach in agricultural and diary based occupation and enterprises. The project has rehabilitated 450 odd tribal families in 1750 *ha* of land and they were employed in the plantation project. After the recent agitation waged under the leadership of Smt. C. K. Janu of Gothra Mahasabha, many of the land-alienated tribal groups encroached the project site. Thereafter the project came to a standstill and resulted in short off funds even for paying wages. As part of the policy to confer land to the landless and land alienated tribals, the govt. decided now to offer 5-acre land each for a family of the project land to the inhabitant communities of this site. As of now 350 odd families availed rights to use the land. The Sugandhagiri project site is an undulating hilly terrain with rich biodiversity. The picturesquely splendid area with diverse plant kingdom and landscape adorns the natural beauty of a healthy hill area ecosystem. In order not to

make eco-degeneration, strategic intervention to landscape conservation and practice of eco-friendly farming practices deserves utmost importance. Since they have got a new face to their life, the inhabitant ethnic communities have to be equipped with skill inputs in multiple levels. Being they now become the new owners of land, proper guidance and support to efficient management of resources is needed.

I (c). Sugandhagiri: A Centre to develop as a Bio-valley

The Swaminathan Commission for WTO concerns for agricultural trade of Kerala has recommended, "it would be desirable to develop the region extending from the Silent Valley Biosphere Reserve up to Wayanad as a Herbal Bio-valley, on the model of the Silicon Valley for computer software. The herbal bio-valley should provide the biological software essential for a dynamic herbal industry". Wayanad is one such Centres of "biological softwares" in the State, and falls in the list of 29 Plant Diversity Centres identified from Western Ghats that are rich in medicinal plants. The Sugandhagiri area is best suited for developing as a **Bio-valley.** As stressed by Prof. M. S. Swaminathan such an approach with a *pro-poor, pro-nature* and *pro-women* attitude and integration of traditional and frontier technologies can bring a new Green Revolution. This "Evergreen Revolution" according to him can make a breakthrough in agricultural production, ecological and livelihood security of the resource poor communities of the third world. This wave is now set in motion in some interior villages of Wayanad district of Kerala.

In Wayanad, the native tribal and other ethnic groups have long been followed an eco-sensitive and biodiversity conservation ensured farming, but unfortunately they were getting replaced with the farming system introduced by the powerful migrants. Maintaining a sizable number of livestock among the local communities has promoted the recycling in the farming sector and added sufficient level of organic matter to the soil, maintaining its fertility and productivity. The shift away of agricultural focus from subsistence farming to cash cropping to mono cropping has marked the beginning of the natural resource depletion and yet it continues unabated. The gross misinterpretation of the human-nature interaction coupled with the introduction of intensive farming system with high yielding varieties and excessive use of external inputs such as chemical fertilisers and pesticides has now led the erosion of genetic diversity of traditional PGRs.

II. Rationale

II (a). Need of sustainable agricultural management practices

As noted, the project site has greater significance in terms of it's ecological importance and it is one of the most important bio-diversity rich terrain in Nilgiri Biosphere of Western Ghats – a biodiversity hotspot. The salubrious scenic beauty of the location with its magnificent landscape comprised with hills and dales, incite the mind of any nature lover. Of late, scientists have traced many endemic species of flora and fauna from this locality. Geographically the area falls under an eco-fragile zone. A gentle alteration in its landscape and green cover may spell great ecological disaster and make cultivation impossible in the long future. Cautious plans have to be developed in land use as well as the crop management interventions. Care should be taken to avoid intense land tilling and

chemical input farming systems. Without cognizant of the above factors, they may follow the farming practices which may not be in conformity to the geographical peculiarities. The tribal communities who gifted land are cash poor to do any kind of investment rather than their manpower in their land. The land they availed is mostly deprived of earning crops. Some have crops but are unproductive. But what makes more motivating is the high fertility of the soil. *Cardamom* is the major crop, which the society had grown for long period, but the plants are too old and productive age has diminished. Replanting stands as a remedial measure in case of cardamom. Trees are stripped of pepper wines. Ensuring the availability of disease free and productive planting materials deserve utmost consideration.

II (b). Need of Education, Awareness and Capacity development

Empowering the communities with adequate skill inputs have got greater role to play at this juncture. The chances of intrusion of extraneous factors also cannot be ruled out. There are many outsiders who are eying the so fertile land for lease cultivation. The cash poor tribal farmers who may easily fall prey in the pit fall of pittance stretched out by the others because of their dire need for cash. In turn the lease farmers will milk the land by pouring heavy amount of chemical inputs aiming at squeezing the maximum with in no time. The quick knock down effect of the chemical input also may prompt them to use it liberally for harvesting maximum in a short span of time. This will pollute the soil and water bodies fuelling vulnerability of the already disease prone community posing great health hazards. Awareness generation only could play anything to stall such eco-degenerating activities. The area is ideally suited for promote eco-farming. The vital factor in such farming is group or compact area approach, and the area and people of Sugandhagiri are well suited for it as the community is more or less homogenous in nature.

The lack of awareness and educational backwardness are the deterrent factors holding them back from progressing towards mainstream development process. Adding more to the woes, malnutrition and other health problems have caught tight grip over them. Basic amenities like housing and sanitation is a major lacking. The habit of saving has not yet been factored in their life as a tool for economical advancement. Awareness generation in the areas of health, education, environment, agricultural practices and promotion of income generating activities can play an important role in improving their life. The presence of a number of idle building infrastructures signals positive factor for easing the implementation of various activities.

III. Work Package & Objectives

The present project aims at a new approach, new structure and new institutions to capitalize the traditional wisdom and benefits of frontier technologies for livelihood improvement and poverty reduction of the 450 odd tribal families of the Sugandhagiri area. The attempt to develop a bio-valley will be primarily based on an "eco-agriculture" approach with a participatory methodology development. The specific objectives are to:

Table: Work Package and Objectives

Work Package	Objectives
Work Package I **Farming Intervention**	• Impart skill inputs to men and women to manage and develop their landscapes, soil, crops, water and TK in a sustainable manner. • Promote crop diversification and multiple cropping giving equal thrust to food crops and cash crops. • Promote eco-agricultural package of practices.
Work Package II **Health & Nutrition Intervention**	• Generate awareness to improve in the areas of health, education and importance and value of the "ecological foods. • Reduce the incidences of malnutrition and diseases of women and children by revitalizing the traditional food habits and recipes.
Work Package III **Income Generation Intervention**	• Promote quality seed production and processing & value addition activities of spices and select food crops for attaining economic self-sufficiency. • Ensure and enhance the availability of quality planting materials.

IV. Activity Profile

In order to combat the issues emphasized here multi-dimensional activities to be implemented under the three work packages listed in the table. It is hoped that the following activities will help to a great extent the objectives achieved in time, budget and with desired qualities.

IV.(a) Skill Enhancement Activities

1. People's Institution formation (Farmer's groups, Women groups, SHGs, Task Group for natural resource conservation)
2. Awareness generation programmes on-Health, Education, Environment and Agriculture
3. Human Resource/capacity development programmes
4. Legal literacy Camps; Health camps

5. Agro, food and fruit processing trainings
6. Promotion traditional health healing practices.

IV.(b) Action Oriented Activities

1. Land management activities
2. Micro enterprises promotion activities
3. Crop diversification
4. (Ensuring food and economic security focusing thrust on maintaining agrobiodiversity)
5. Promotion of organic farming
6. Promotion of recycling (popularizing different models of composting)
7. Promotion agri-allied income-generating activities (Diary, Bee keeping, Poultry, Goatery, Rabitory etc)
8. Promotion of medicinal plant cultivation
9. Establishing of nurseries for raising disease free and good quality planting materials.

V. Methodology

The project would be implemented under the leadership of the **Sugandhagiri Development Committee** (SDC) formed for the overall development of this Valley. Technical support and guidance needed to this committee will be rendered jointly by MSSRF and WARDA. A provision for revolving fund would be kept in the budget allocation to enhance the capacity of the development committee and to sustain the process incessant. The beneficiaries will be selected according to the criterions set by SDC. The whole process will be transparently getting done under the auspices of MSSRF & WARDA. Wherever necessary, services of the experts and expert institutions will be sought to deliver maximum quality services.

VI. Expected Impact

(a) Socio-Economic Impacts

- Improved standard of living of the families.
- Complete eradication of poverty
- Advancement in socio-economic set up
- Emergence of viable micro-enterprises
- More number of children enrolled in school
- Revitalization of traditional health healing practices.

(b) Agricultural development Impacts

- Enhanced productivity of crops
- Ensured supply of quality planting materials
- Diverse crops planted in their homesteads
- Addressing the issue of food dearth

- Promotion of organic farming
- Promotion of least disturbed eco-farming system
- Emergence of skilled farmers groups
- Reduced incidences of diseases
- Soil erosion controlled homestead farms.
- On-farm production of organic manure.

VII. Sustainability

The project will pay focus to empower different committees constituted in the project site. As described elsewhere in this concept note they will be imparted with various intellectual inputs. They will also be helped to link with other agencies and departments to avail their services in the area. The inputs for them are moduled in such a way, as to capacitate them to be stand alone. When they become capable enough to manage their situation, they will take forward the activities at their own capacity. The project's main thrust relies in empowering the community to attain such a level. The revolving fund provision proposed in the project will ensure the continuity and sustainability of the project.

Appendix 15
Five Essential Questions
To Ask about Development
Dr. Stephen Commins

Below is the portion of the research conversation that I had with Dr. Stephen Commins, Senior Human Development Specialist at the World Bank. Steve also teaches at both UCLA and the George Washington University. Two nights before this conversation, Steve had been asked to sit on a panel discussing development issues. He was the last one to speak and instead of doing a presentation as most of the other panelists had done, Steve chose to give the attendees at the meeting some questions to ponder. The conversation starts with my (AM) questioning him (SC).

AM: So, the first issue/question...when we were talking earlier, you gave me your five questions that you offered on the panel from Monday, would you tell me those again?

SC: Sure. The first is, what timeframe do we have for understanding development? And underneath that is, development broadly conceived involves a huge, complex set of interactions of political, economical, social, cultural factors that don't necessarily change quickly over time. They are very much into the fabric of a society. But development organizations have one-year, three-year, five-year plans and there's a fundamental disconnect between the idea that you accomplish certain things as if it's separate from all the other social interactions. So, the first question is, what is the timeframe? And I think we need generational, multi-generational timeframes, we need a historical perspective on that. That the first one, timeframes.

The second is that there...actually it's the last one but it's the one that comes to mind... everything is contingent. You don't control the world. Governments don't control the world, businesses don't control the world, six Swiss gnomes don't control the world. No matter what is planned, no matter how it is planned, it doesn't work out the way you plan. So, you have to live with that, you have to adapt, therefore, flexibility, adaptation, learning...the stuff we talked about from the Uphoff book; readings for class [that I had attended the night before that he taught], the learning processes...becomes important. There's a great quote from Robert Chambers, because he talks about the need for organizations to embrace error. I was once meeting with Robert at IDS Sussex and he said, "unfortunately, most organizations want to kill error, to beat it with a stick and then bury it."

The third piece is perspective. That, we don't all see the world the same way. And that's a fundamental problem. That, Hannah Arendt had this expression, "critical engagement," because she felt that in order to broaden our perspective and understand other people's views, it was very, very important to engage with people in some substantive way. When Bob Seiple was President of World Vision, coming out of a very strong evangelical tradition as well as having been a Marine Corps aviator in the Vietnam War , and as his

thinking evolved into what I call a "marine mystic," one of his great quotes was, one of his great quotes about engaging with Muslims or Communists or anything else was, "*if you know where your center is, you should be able to draw your circle large.*" It was one of his big conflicts with a lot of evangelicals who hated...Bob wrote this really interesting letter defending the World Council of Churches after all the Right wingers were attacking it and he said, [not a direct quote] they may not have *my* theology, but I've been to Geneva, I've met with these people, they are sincere, committed Christians, and I'm just not about to keep saying who's against me. And that's a fundamental piece of the perspective. If you choose to define all the Arabs, or all Muslims, or all non-Bible believing something...or non Wahabi-ists, the perspective is critical, but understanding that there's six billion people out there and they don't all look at the world the same way. Yeah, most of my friends not like NASCAR. But, there's hundreds of thousands of people who go out and watch it. It's more interesting to me to understand what it is about watching that little car go around and around and around, it's fascinating. And I think that's important. So, perspective is critical.

The fourth thing is conflict. Change is conflictive. Status quo is conflictive. The question underneath that is, in what ways can both local organizations and outside organizations foster improving human conditions without increasing the level of conflict? Because resources, particularly in rural areas, are a very direct source of conflict in communities and much violence is directed toward keeping certain status quo the same. I mean, I talked to World Vision's country director years ago in India about the constant violence in Bihar...and Bihar happens to be extremely stratified by castes so whereas in other parts of India it doesn't play out in quite the same way, you have these village to village...fifty people killed that are hungry for land. So, conflict is there.

And then, the last thing is trade off. What are the trade offs you have to make? There are no 100% good, everybody wins, everybody feels better, aspects of social change. So, how do you maximize the winner especially amongst the poor groups and minimize the cost to the losers? So, those are the five questions.

AM: Those are great.

SC: I should copyright them, you know?

AM: Yeah, you should. You should write a book.

Appendix 16: Sample Journal Entry

The entry below was written on the afternoon of 13 July 2004 following the close of the meeting, Prospects of Community Tourism in "Malabar Coast" of Kerala. My immediate reflections said,

> Whew! What a rich day this has turned out to be. Beyond any expectations I could have had. I only hope that the transcription can convey a portion of it. Twelve people—seven of whom talked in an animated way about the promise and perils of tourism for this part of Kerala, the all famous Malabar Coast. What stands out right now—
>
> Tourism should be more outcome than goal—by making it the goal, things are created artificially to attract and satisfy—what is really the issue is to be what each community already is and invite guests to participate in what already is, not some artificial replica of it.
>
> Hospitality is a strength of the people of this region. Refine it, develop it but recognize it has a character of its own that does not need to conform to someone else's view of what it should be (by their standard). People come here to experience what is here, not to create their world and lay it upon the area. Invited guests accept the hospitality offered.
>
> The other major strength is the knowledge/documentation of the local flora and fauna... They talked about the natural environment, the rain and climate, the integrated nature of the place, sea to inland hillsides. So much natural beauty—available to those would most appreciate it.
>
> There's a lot more of course—but another thing that strikes me is—my request to meet with them became a catalyst for them to begin to work on an issue that has been out there for some time. It was Dr. Anil Kumar who saw opportunity and put it together.

See Chapter Five, pages 128-129 where the majority of this sample entry is integrated into the text as a part of the reflection of the day's proceedings.

Appendix 17: Journal Entry
Reflection on World Tourism Organization's Tourism Policy Forum

Today was the second day of the World Tourism Organization Forum—and I left as soon as I finished my responsibilities...I feel like I've been in a totally foreign environment for the past two days—the English language was spoken but it was jargon and acronym-filled—that world of technocrats who spend a long time mastering the code and then spend time displaying it for audiences...How different it felt from the Swaminathan Foundation Symposium! There, the voices of the poor were a part of the day (and they benefited from the gathering by being able to show/sell their products). Here, we had succinct, timed PowerPoint [presentations] (as opposed to the lengthy ones in Chennai which now seem so much more honest)...but no voices of the poor—I missed that.

When I left, it occurred to me—these aren't my people. We speak differently for sure; I believe there is a sense of care that has [sic] some part of what motivates them but it's clouded by the business oriented language—I mean, yes, tourism is business. But I certainly heard one person yesterday say that as the WTO has joined the UN, it changes their perspective. I'm not sure anyone else there recognizes it—and what the implications are as a result. To me, they seem enormous—moving into development—but doing it by overlaying their business models on the poor in the communities. Yes, there was resounding call for local ownership but not a lot of specifics that showed they too must change—the expert model—that's what they are advocating and it's likely that's why I felt so terribly out of sync. And there's no orientation to *want* to reach a new understanding—there's no awareness. And they are already unleashed on the world.

I don't want to miss the point that there's lots of good—even great intentions. Environmental concerns I heard a lot about and to be fair, I wasn't in the groups today... [where] that might have had an opening for something new to arise. But what is sustainability? How does one fully engage the other if they aren't also willing to be changed by the encounter? It's just more, "we know what's good for you"—and yes, there is something to that—but it's not the whole picture. How does the community give to the experts? (In fact, there was a comment yesterday from the Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism from South Africa who said this must be a two-way street where they can contribute as well as receive. The Secretary General of the [UN]WTO who was moderating responded that he wanted [UN]WTO to be the forum for this exchange but I wonder what he meant?) How do the different countries who see tourism as a possible engine of economic development speak to one another—without the interference (or aid) of these experts?

I don't know...It is about time somehow—as Steve said, it takes multiple generations. The conflict is really that we want results through projects and they are unlikely (as Harold Goodwin from the United Kingdom said in the [Rural Development Case Presentation] session regarding Gambia) to produce the kind of results that are envisioned when projects are created/ implemented.

This is a dilemma, one that is not going to go away. And we can't do nothing—that would be like hiding the lamp under the bushel basket. So—the good news is—they're doing something that might help—and intentions are positive. Just have figure out how to keep them [the actions taken] from becoming the pavement on the road to hell (like casinos on Indian reservations have become).

It's hard not to be judgmental—and I think I need to find ways to talk about this that acknowledges the good *and* critiques it from a new perspective...not easy.

THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

Dissertation Abstract

Tourism of a Different Kind in "God's Own Country": A Critical Hermeneutic Exploration of Socioeconomic Development in Kerala, India

This research addresses the question, what is the relationship between identity and tourism as one medium for socioeconomic development in Kerala, India. Because unemployment is a central problem in Kerala, tourism is seen as an opportunity for positive social and economic development. This research explores the role tourism plays in Kerala's development and the conditions under which tourism creates sustainable gains. The State of Kerala, with its combination of natural beauty and a literate and politically active citizenry, satisfies two basic conditions so that tourism that respects people and natural environments can develop.

The central inquiry of this research is a question of the relationship among culture, identity and socioeconomic development. Thus, a critical hermeneutic orientation, which engages the critical and creative dimension of poetic language, provides the opportunity to disclose something that traditional social science research cannot. Poetic language has the capacity to go beyond the descriptive nature of most social science research toward the disclosure of possible worlds. Applied to this research, poetic language opens possibilities of deeper meaning to arise through narratives, revealing the place of identity, whether personal or community, is always in relationship with others.

With categories derived from critical hermeneutic theory—narrative identity, social theory that combines both system and lifeworld perspectives, and a philosophical understanding of care— this research results in offering a different orientation toward socioeconomic development that encompasses culture, tradition, identity, modernity and action. This orientation shows that attentiveness toward and respect of the dignity of each person generates and releases a community's power-to-act which is the heart of authentic, sustainable development. Refigured acts of development become possible, including the critical assessment of local traditions in relation to modernity so that elements of the modern world become part of being grounded in identity. This orientation shows the identities of all actors at multiple levels are not only in relationship to one another but are subject to be changed by the encounters.

Future research is recommended for the education of tourism professionals to add these perspectives to their business capabilities so that sustainable forms of tourism provide appropriate livelihoods to people.

Ayliffe B. Mumford, Author

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